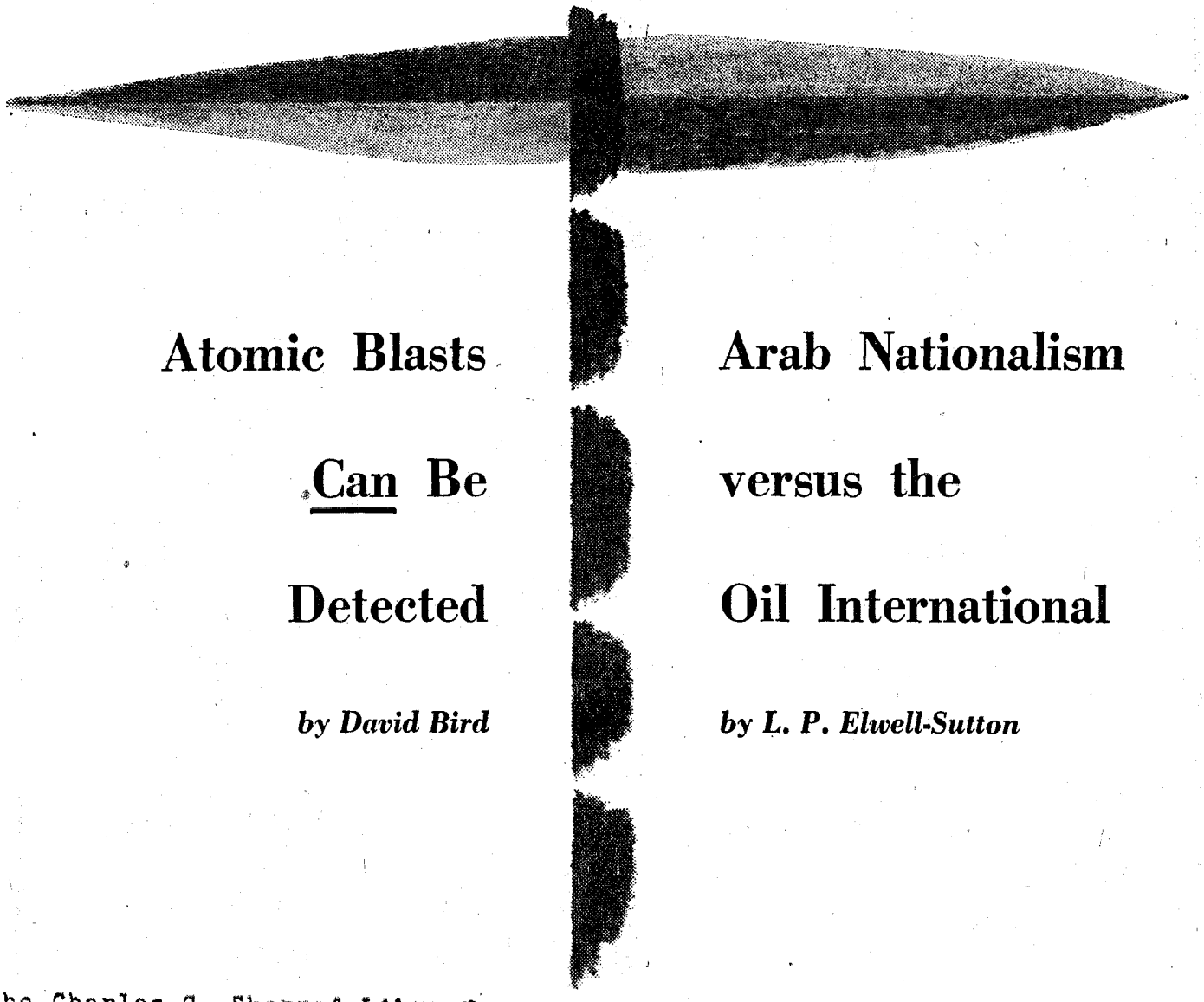
THE
NATION

APRIL 12, 1958 . . 25c

FREE MINDS and the OPEN UNIVERSITY

by Louis M. Hacker



Atomic Blasts Can Be Detected

by David Bird

Arab Nationalism versus the Oil International

by L. P. Elwell-Sutton

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

Organizing Dissent

Dear Sirs: George Kirstein, publisher of *The Nation*, recently delivered an address on the University of Illinois campus in which he attacked some of the most persistent and deceptive myths of our time and vigorously upheld the value of dissent. As a result, a group of students, in agreement that these myths, and many more, must be exposed, have organized a Student Forum for Dissent to provide a rostrum for vigorous dissent from prevailing dogmas and opinions. The Student Forum is seeking to engage the imagination and energies of students in the significant political and social issues of our time.

Unfortunately, the resources of the group are severely limited. It can offer a hall, publicity and overnight accommodations for visiting speakers. The Student Forum realizes that its chance for success initially lies in the possibility of attracting individuals and organizations willing to engage in "missionary" work, who might welcome the chance to reach an important audience in terms of the future, and also those traveling authors or lecturers who might be passing through this area anyway.

The Student Forum will be happy to receive comment, criticism and replies from all interested parties. Please address Student Forum for Dissent, 1209 West Oregon Street, Urbana, Illinois.

R. D. LAKIN

Urbana, Ill.

The Family Doctor

Dear Sirs: It is not true, as stated by Dr. George A. Silver in Health Hint from Britain (March 8 issue) that "while the family doctor is still necessary, the general practitioner is outdated." In my practice as a psychiatrist, I am very frequently reminded of the high level of competence of the general practitioner in this community. Admittedly, the standards of medical practice in Reno are very high, but I suspect that general practitioners throughout the nation practice excellent medicine and are far from outdated. Dr. Silver implies that the general practitioner is unsatisfactory even as a "family doctor." But probably few specialists outside of internal medicine are really well qualified to act as family doctors and I suspect that even these are not as well equipped for the purpose as the general practitioner.

Every family should have its own physician and, in general, he should be a general physician qualified to sew up Johnnie's lacerations, supervise obstetrical care, and help mother figure out baby's formula—and perhaps provide the psychotherapy for the mother so often needed in treatment of baby's colic. It is preposterous to ask families to choose a specialist for each of these functions. Indeed, few specialists are in so good a position as the general practitioner to understand why members of families behave the way they do and are sick the way they are. It is simply not true that only highly-trained specialists can apply specialized knowledge. It *is* true that a confident and conscientious general physician does not hesitate to request the aid of his specialist colleagues when they might be able to bring additional resources to the treatment of a patient.

The family doctor is and will continue to be necessary and he should continue to be a general practitioner. Any other system places the burden of preliminary diagnosis on the patient, who certainly cannot be expected to be well enough trained to know if he should consult a general surgeon, a urologist, an orthopedist, an internist or a psychiatrist for his back pain.

LESLIE H. GOULD, M.D.

Reno, Nevada

Dear Sirs: Much of what Dr. Gould says is true. Every family should have a personal physician and a general practitioner would be ideal for the job. In this country, however, the general practitioner is rapidly disappearing and it will not be too long before there will only be specialists to choose from. That is why group practice is recommended, why it is increasingly necessary. Furthermore, medical education needs to focus on family practice for the internist and pediatrician, so that they can play the role of family physician within a group-practice setting.

GEORGE A. SILVER, M.D.

New York City

Serving Peace

Dear Sirs: With its issue of March 22, *The Nation* continues to make notable contributions to the struggle for peace, following up very effectively on the two articles by C. Wright Mills in recent months. Your circulation deserves to jump. I am thinking of your own editorial paragraphs; of the article by Russell A. Fraser, of the Princeton faculty, who joins the growing number of those who recognize that unilateral disarmament is the only policy that makes sense; and of Brand Blanshard's comment on Ernest W. Lefevre's *Ethics and United States Foreign Policy*.

Lefevre is a former pacifist who properly recognized that the somewhat naive pacifism of his youth was not good enough, but unfortunately proceeeded to swallow uncritically the pronounce-

(*Continued on page 322*)

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

305 ●

ARTICLES

309 ● Free Minds and Open Universities
by LOUIS M. HACKER

313 ● Arab Nationalism vs. the Oil International
by L. P. ELWELL-SUTTON

316 ● The Pesticide That Came to Dinner
by DAVID CORT

319 ● Atom Blasts Can Be Spotted
by DAVID BIRD

321 ● High Noon in Oklahoma
by THOMAS H. UZZELL

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

323 ● The Molds of the Public Mind
1. The Press
by LESTER ASHEIM

324 ● 2. The Avenue
by DAVID BOROFF

324 ● Love in Solitude
by MAX COSMAN

325 ● Questions To Be Answered
by LOUIS O. COXE

326 ● Confusion of Principles
by DAVID SPITZ

326 ● Six Picassos (poem)
by DILYS LAING

327 ● Letter from New Orleans
by STANLEY MEISLER

327 ● The Mill of Death (poem)
by KENNETH REXROTH

330 ● Television
by ANNE W. LANGMAN

330 ● Jack and the Other Jack (poem)
by DONALD HALL

331 ● Music
by LESTER TRIMBLE

332 ● Art
by MAURICE GROSSER

Crossword Puzzle (opp. 332)
by FRANK W. LEWIS

George G. Kirstein, Publisher
Carey McWilliams, Editor
Victor H. Bernstein, Managing Editor
Robert Hatch, Books and the Arts

Harold Clurman, Theatre
M. L. Rosenthal, Poetry
Mary Simon, Advertising Manager

Staff Contributors: W. Macmahon Ball, Carolus, Maxwell Geismar, Harvey O'Connor, Andrew Roth, Howard K. Smith, Dan Wakefield, Alexander Werth, H. H. Wilson.

The Nation, Apr. 12, 1958. Vol. 186, No 15

The Nation, published weekly (except for omission of four summer issues) by The Nation Company and copyright 1958, in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Second class mail privileges authorized at New York, N. Y.

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $8. Two years $14, Three years $20. Additional postage per year, Foreign and Canadian $1.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 12, 1958
VOLUME 186, NUMBER 15

THE NATION

EDITORIALS

It Won't Wash, Mr. President

The President and Mr. Dulles must realize that the United States is in grave diplomatic trouble and that trying to get out of it with quips and evasions just isn't going to work. By their unilateral suspension of nuclear testing, the Russians have got us on the diplomatic hook. It makes little difference that the Russian move is tainted with some blatant hornswoggling. The fact remains that they correctly gauged the state of public opinion in parts of the world vital to us, and acted with boldness, originality and superb timing. By all the rules, they have earned their diplomatic triumph.

The outlines of what they accomplished are only beginning to become clear, and the spectacle is neither pleasant nor reassuring. Mr. Dulles feared to lose his shirt at a summit conference: he has already lost it without the conference. The Russians had indicated a willingness to cease nuclear testing with some sort of inspection system backing up the agreement. This was one of the practical questions on which we could have negotiated (freeing the Soviet satellites, re-unifying Germany on our terms, etc., are issues on which no serious diplomat would waste his time); and, had an agreement been reached, we could have shared the credit with Moscow and reaped some advantages from the inspection arrangement. Now the Russians take all the credit, leaving us to incur obloquy for our tests in the Pacific proving grounds, while their own recent tests escape practically scot-free. If all this is a "gimmick," one can only wish to God that our statesmen could concoct such gimmicks once in a while.

Aside from the diplomatic defeat, we are in an uncomfortable position militarily. The big fission-fusion-fission bombs are obsolete. In a sense, they work too well: they kill so indiscriminately and on such a grand scale that no nation can afford to use them. The rational line of development—insofar as rationality can play a part in these affairs—is "miniaturization" of missile warheads, as well as the familiar miniaturization of components in the guidance system. We must ask ourselves: Why are the Russians so ready to suspend tests? One reason is that they would like to reduce their armament expenditures, which are far more onerous to them than ours to us. To this extent they are acting in good faith, and indeed it is as stupid to postulate that they are always wholly Machiavellian as to believe that their motives are as pure and humanitarian as they say. But there must be other reasons, and one, which must be assumed as a matter of elementary prudence, is that they are satisfied with their present nuclear-missile technology. In other words, they are ahead of us, and probably the best we can hope for is to catch up with them in our forthcoming series. These races tend to be neck-and-neck, and by all indications we are a neck behind.

Mr. Eisenhower must therefore try a new line. It would be best, of course, if the new line did not include Mr. Dulles, but since it will, the President should acknowledge to his own private self that Mr. Dulles doesn't know where he is going. For his own sake and that of the country, the President must take the reins in his own hands. And as he prepares to do so, he should bear in mind that the reason the Russians have been able to get away with a certain amount of transparent propaganda is simply that the world welcomes any move at all toward a cessation of the nuclear-armaments race. If American diplomacy will base itself on this ineluctable fact, things will go better.

Where Do We Go From Here?

As we have indicated, the Russians are probably a neck ahead of us in the missiles race, and it would appear their advantage lies in delivery systems rather than warheads. This advantage is not necessarily permanent or even decisive. They have, however, shown great skill in exploiting their position. They know what people want and at least pretend to give it to them. We offer only the nuclear-arms race, world without end—or should we say with end?—and people don't want it and won't buy it.

Abandoning this policy would give us a chance to regain diplomatic parity. There are a number of specific proposals which can then be made. One is to consent to discuss, at a summit conference or in the United Nations, a ban on nuclear weapons, both as to firing and transit, not only in the Central European zone, but in the Arctic areas which would be traversed by missiles traveling between the Soviet Union and the United States in either direction. This would combine the Rapocki nuclear-peace-in-Central-Europe and Eisen-

APR 11 '58
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hower peaceful-uses-of-outer-space plans, and give both sides a proprietary interest in agreement.

Another proposal would be for supervised cessation of nuclear-bomb testing after the completion of the series now projected in the Pacific. We would announce our intention to stop testing and propose the establishment of a United Nations detection and inspection system in which neutral and non-atomic powers, as well as the nuclear powers, would be represented (for practical methods of inspection, see David Bird's article on page 319 of this issue).

We could release information on the technique of producing "clean" bombs, not only to make friends among the neutrals and, for that matter, in England and West Germany and the United States itself, but to deprive the Russians of any excuse for resuming tests to achieve this objective. If this involved declassifying some of our other nuclear "secrets," so much the better. The "secrets" are known or will be known soon enough.

Another idea which would improve our position is to propose a kind of permanent International Geophysical Year for the development and exchange of information on peaceful uses of atomic energy.

Some aspects of such a program, coming after the Russian coup, are humiliating. But there is nothing as humiliating as persistence in error. Some are hazardous. But not as hazardous as staggering from one defeat to another.

Failure of a Mission

The duty of United States press correspondents in the Soviet Union is to keep the American people informed of significant developments there. This they failed to do. For a long period of time, they told us practically nothing about the advance of Soviet learning, education and science. Only after Sputnik I was in space did the correspondents try to make up for their failure. Yet information on Soviet educational and technical progress had long been available. Even the development of the Soviet ICBM, and the sputnik itself, could have been foreseen by alert journalists had they followed Soviet technical journals.

Indeed, so much a matter of public information were Soviet advances in learning, education and science that one competent reporter accustomed to covering the educational system of any American city would have been more valuable to us in Moscow than the whole corps of high-powered press correspondents stationed there.

Our press in Moscow suffers, and hence we suffer, from the concepts of traditional American journalism. The reporters spend too much time keeping binoculars glued on the Kremlin, dashing to embassy cocktail parties, trying to get some big, hot news that will warrant a "flash" and provide a "scoop." They failed greatly in failing to keep us informed of what was going on under their very noses.

Our large newspapers and press services should give thought to the idea of assigning to Moscow men and women who are trained not in journalism, but in the social sciences and in the accurate and careful recording of the obvious. Mrs. Roosevelt, on her recent trip to the Soviet Union, gave us more information in a few weeks about what is going on inside the Soviet Union than our regular correspondents have given us in years.

This was a failure of our press that injured our country. The press does not seem to be ashamed of its failure. It does not even seem to be aware of it.

Morrow Mayo

MORROW MAYO, author and veteran journalist, is now working on an Ohio newspaper.

The Civilian in Space

The White House last week announced plans for creation of a civilian agency to conduct explorations of outer space, the idea being — in the words of *The New York Times* — "to confirm, in the public mind, domestically and internationally, this country's reliance on civilians rather than military men in matters of such import." Did the news come as a shock to our Pentagon hopefuls, who have come to look upon the moon simply as another target for a rather extended rifle range? Certainly it must have embarrassed Major General John B. Medaris, the Army's missile chief, who just a fortnight ago told newsmen that only the military were equipped to handle space exploration (see editorial comment in *The Nation,* March 29).

The President's proposal seems to be consistent with his position *vis-à-vis* the Soviet Union: a readiness to cooperate with the Kremlin on the peaceful exploration of outer space. Whether the plan will be executed with the same consistency with which it was conceived is another matter. Only a few days earlier, the President had ordered the Advanced Research Projects Agency, a Pentagon body, to proceed to the moon — if not at once, at least as soon as possible. True, the directive to the ARPA indicated that a "review" of function might be necessary once a civilian agency was brought into the picture. Where, ultimately, will the line of authority be drawn? The White House now indicates that only "purely scientific projects" will be diverted to the proposed civilian body. But what is "pure" science, and what "impure" — i.e., military — science? The same mathematical formulas apply to ICBMs and to sputniks, and the same engines and the same fuels lift both into the air. The difference would seem to lie at the business end of the missile: is it a dog and a beep-beep, or is it a nuclear warhead? To this dull

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

layman's mind, at least, no civilian agency can save outer space from the military; only the total and permanent abolition of the nuclear weapon can do that.

Punching to the Last

In his native Colombia, the Indian Javier Pereira lived 167 years in the serene manner of his forefathers, and on their fat-free diet. Then, two years ago, he was discovered by American publicists and brought to this country to have his longevity certified by the experts of the New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center, and to be exploited for whatever angles Ripley's Believe It Or Not, Inc. could find to exploit in him. His annual rings duly counted and authenticated, Señor Pereira very properly socked the jaw of Douglas F. Storer, the president of the Ripley outfit, when the latter boasted: "My friend Javier loves everybody and everything." Even less Hiawathan was his reaction to the young lady reporter who put her arms around him to calm him down: he punched her on the nose. As he stalked off, the seventy-five-pound centisexagenarian took effective swipes at a photographer and a male reporter. W. C. Fields was never more disdainful of Everything/Our Civilization Stands For than this irritable walking mummy brought up from another age to punish our presumptuousness.

Now, at 168, "my friend Javier" is dead at last. He would surely have lived forever had he not been flown to nowhere and back by Ripley, Inc. Let all of us poor non-Methusalahs (whom Shaw in his play calls the "short-livers") cherish the memory of those four mighty pokes against Public Relations and vow to model ourselves henceforth as best we can on Javier Pereira, the fat-free, the self-contained, and the eternally (almost) recalcitrant.

Churches, Taxes and Oaths

The U.S. Supreme Court has agreed to review California's 1953 law requiring that individuals or institutions normally entitled to tax exemption will not be given such exemption except by signing an oath foreswearing intent to overthrow the government. The law affects churches, educational and charitable institutions and certain war veterans. Four churches took the law to the courts, and after a preliminary round, the case came up before the state supreme court last summer. There the argument of the state attorneys reflected the bizarre nature of the law and of the reasoning on which it is based. They urged (a) that the state "does not receive its *quid pro quo* from the church" if the church does not fulfill its task "to inculcate the citizens with patriotism" and (b) that a church's refusal to take a loyalty oath is implied proof that it is claiming the right to advocate the overthrow of the government. As for (a), it will come as news to most theologians that the Pledge of Allegiance is a canonical work; and as for (b), one might as cogently argue that a bridegroom who refuses to improve upon the marriage vows by swearing that he does not intend to kill the bride is implicitly claiming the right to do so.

In their opinion, Chief Justice Gibson and Justice Traynor of the California court declared:

> It is badly assumed that plaintiff church advocates the overthrow of the government by force because it refuses to declare that it does not . . . The provisions . . . paralyze the belief that the government has no right to require professions of innocence in the absence of proof of guilt. A law with such consequences cannot stand in the face of constitutional guarantees.

Justice Carter, another member of the tribunal, rendered an even more sharply worded opinion. But these were in a minority; four Justices of the seven-member tribunal supported the state. It now remains to be seen what the U.S. Supreme Court will do. Oral argument was heard this week. Chief Justice Warren, who as Governor of California in 1953 signed the law, was not on the bench when the appeal was heard. It is safe to assume that the Supreme Court will decide the case on the merits, and with due regard for its broad implications, regardless of who is embarrassed.

Academic Freedom: Some Unfinished Business

THIS WILL be the fourth year that the National Student Association has sponsored observance of Academic Freedom Week (April 20-26) on the campuses. In one sense, the issue is of less concern than it was four years ago; undoubtedly the general atmosphere has improved. But with all the current wide-ranging discussion of American education, it might be well to cock an eye at this critical area. For what is the point in discussing what needs to be done about American education if we don't believe in education? If we do believe, surely academic freedom should not be an issue. That it still is so, despite the improvement in atmosphere, the statement in this issue (see article beginning on page 309) by Louis M. Hacker, the distinguished American educator, that "there is a virtual blacklist existing in the American university world that is as mean and cruel as any inquisition," should be conclusive.

That such a blacklist exists, despite the censure and subsequent demise of McCarthy, is evident. When the Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure of the American Association of University Professors meets in Denver on April 25-26, it will review the findings of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

special committees which have reported violations of academic freedom at nine institutions involving the careers of thirteen teachers. The nine institutions are New York University, University of Vermont, University of Michigan, Reed College, Dickinson College, University of Southern California, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Texas Technological College and Livingstone College. Included, it will be noted, are state-supported and privately-supported institutions; in regional terms, only the Rocky Mountain states have the honor *not* to be represented. The range and diversity of the list suggest that while the impact of McCarthyism may not have been deep or permanent, it was surely extensive.

But these reports, you say, relate to the past; they are a carry-over from years we would like to forget. Yet the fact that none of the institutions in question has had the courage to reinstate any of the thirteen instructors involved is itself sufficient warrant for Dr. Hacker's statement. As long as this blacklist exists, freedom in education must remain a critical problem.

The AAUP *Bulletin* for March carries the full text of the nine reports. The factual situation is much the same in all nine. Eight of the cases involve charges of "non-cooperation" with Congressional investigating committees. In each instance the university administrators—the prime guardians of academic freedom—played a miserable role. To be sure, there was considerable pressure; Congressional committees, state legislative committees and various unofficial groups were hovering near, demanding hostages, threatening to cut budgets, and acting in a variety of ways calculated to embarrass. But the panic which these administrators exhibited was clearly out of all relation to the intensity of the pressure. In most cases, they capitulated without protest or opposition. Not only were they willing executioners of sentences pronounced by Congressional committees; they were, all too often, eager collaborators. That they acted in panic is shown by the haste with which they ordered or recommended discharges, their failure to organize a defense, the mutilations of due process which they were willing to sanction, the way in which they improvised rules to facilitate predetermined dismissals, the denial of severance pay and, above all, the verbalisms used to make it appear that they were saving the republic against foreign enemies instead of trampling on principles of academic freedom.

It would, of course, be possible to prepare a list of administrators—some of whom occupied positions no less vulnerable—who stoutly defended academic freedom at other institutions. But it is hard to escape the impression that the behavior of the administrators in these nine cases was fairly typical of what might have happened elsewhere. "Senator McCarthy," writes Harold Taylor, president of Sarah Lawrence College, "won an almost total victory by his subversive activities against the universities, since he succeeded in demonstrating to the world that the leaders of a democratic society had no principle except that of accommodation to deal with slander, gossip, lies and plain bullying." But there were, of course, many exceptions, among them Mr. Taylor.

MOST OF US would like to forget the atmosphere which prevailed during the seven years covered by the AAUP reports. The Supreme Court's decisions in the *Sweezy* and *Slochower* cases make much pleasanter reading than these reports. But until the thirteen victims listed in the AAUP reports are restored to their positions, the existence of a blacklist in American universities cannot be disputed.

Nor is the failure to order their reinstatement the only unfinished business of academic freedom. Shabby rationalizations are still being used, in isolated instances, to make it appear that academic freedom is not an issue in cases in which instructors have been discharged—in fact are still being discharged—because of past political beliefs, associations or affiliations. In *The Nation* of March 1, Dan Wakefield recited the facts in the case of Dr. Warren B. Austin, against whom charges were referred *after* the fever of McCarthyism had subsided. Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, president of The City College of New York, insists that the charge which brought an end to the twenty-six-year teaching career of Warren Austin was concerned with perjury, not "subversive activities." The conclusion is reached in this way: Austin was charged with "conduct unbecoming a teacher" in that he falsely denied membership—so it was alleged—in the Communist Party. But the evidence unearthed against him related to past associations and activities of a political character. Stripped of nonessentials, his dismissal turned on the rejection of his word in favor of the word of a witness who admitted having committed perjury four times and who also admitted having falsely accused two persons of perjury. ("An informer," Sydney Smith told the British Society for the Suppression of Vice on November 12, 1804, "is, in general, a man of a very indifferent character.") Dr. Gallagher also likes to remind critics that the decision in the Austin case was unanimous. So it was. But New York City's Board of Higher Education has an odd practice of making majority decisions in such matters unanimous after the members have been polled. In this case, at least four members of the board voted against dismissal.

The techniques developed in New York which resulted in the ouster of Dr. Austin and others were designed to make it appear that beliefs, associations or affiliations had nothing to do with the actual charges against them. In the trial of the first eight teachers to be caught in New York's dragnet investigation, an attempt was made by the defense to raise the issue of academic freedom. But the effort was rebuffed. In only

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one of these first cases was the teacher charged with having been a member of the Communist Party. The other dismissals were for "conduct unbecoming a teacher," which related to such matters as refusing to answer questions about political beliefs or associations, refusing to inform on others, or invoking the protection of the Fifth Amendment before a Congressional committee. The Fifth Amendment firings have been invalidated as a result of the Supreme Court's decision in the *Slochower* case but, to date, only one teacher has been reinstated. Even now the Board of Education has renewed its fight, in the courts, to force teachers who were once members of the Communist Party to inform on other persons. Yet all the while an elaborate pretense is maintained that the New York dismissals had nothing to do with academic freedom. In the municipal colleges and other divisions of the New York City Board of Higher Education alone, there are approximately 6,500 persons employed, all of whom have been screened. Of this number, 122 teachers were formally investigated, sixty-three were "cleared," eighteen left the colleges prior to being questioned, thirty-nine were dismissed or resigned, retired or otherwise terminated their services while under active investigation, and two cases are still pending. But we are asked to believe—and by distinguished American educators—that all of this investigative and disciplinary activity, protracted and intensive, has had no impact on academic freedom.

IN THIS benign post-McCarthy period, we complain about "conformity" on American campuses, not "subversion," and the signs *are* favorable; the "all-clear" has sounded. But in a democratic society, to quote Harold Taylor again, "The question of whether an idea or a project is warmly accepted or meanly rejected is a matter of the atmosphere into which the idea or project is put." In today's favorable general atmosphere, issues of academic freedom seem a bit unreal. But the fact remains that among the weaknesses of American education, which are being so energetically inventoried at the moment, must be listed the demonstrated failure of a significant section of the educational community, in a period of tension, to appreciate its responsibilities for the defense of academic freedom. The symbol of this failure is the academic blacklist.

The Editors.

Free Minds and Open Universities . . . by Louis M. Hacker

THE PROFESSION of learning and knowledge—within the corporation of the university and its ancillary bodies of learned societies and journals—seeks to extend knowledge, to conserve it and diffuse it, constantly bringing the processes of nature, social organization and human conduct under better control. Such are the roles and obligations of scholarship and scientific research.

It is equally necessary to train youth, and those adults who were by-passed by formal learning when they were young, for more useful lives, giving them—at the same time that they are being trained for greater productivity — the tools of analysis by which they can differentiate between right and wrong, the honest and the spurious, beauty and corruption. Citizenship requires virtue, usefulness and boldness; to free the mind of both prejudice and fear are the demands we impose upon educators, at the same time that they exercise their functions of scholars and scientists. To this extent educators are teachers of morals dedicated to the perpetuation of a moral universe.

Educators are prepared for their dual functions by universities; standards of competence and performance are safeguarded by these universities, the faculties within them, and the professional associations or learned societies to which educators belong. In consequence, universities, faculties and academic societies must be permitted to choose and police their own company. Choice should be based on technical qualifications for the efficient performance of assumed or assigned tasks, prior professional experience when necessary, and qualities of character that permit men to live and work together; policing means the maintenance of first-class standards of performance and of unabridged integrity in devotion to scholarly and scientific truth.

The president of one of our large American universities has said:

> A university almost inevitably is out of step with the wider community. Since one of its essential functions is to be a critic of conventional beliefs and values, with a view to extending the frontiers of knowledge and intensifying the appreciation of values, it must come into conflict with uncritically adopted mores and opinions.

This is equally so of testing orthodox belief. In a discerning passage, John Stuart Mill points out that even if opinions are true, there is a constant necessity for demonstrating their validity. Otherwise we are guided by superstition and not intelligence.

The educator — as teacher or moralist — has learned other truths. Youth is a period of challenge and experimentation. Youth is suspicious of indoctrination. Youth wants to start out by assuming that there are alternative roads to freedom. Young

LOUIS M. HACKER, dean of the School of General Studies at Columbia University, is the author of Triumph of American Capitalism, Shaping the American Tradition *and many other books.*

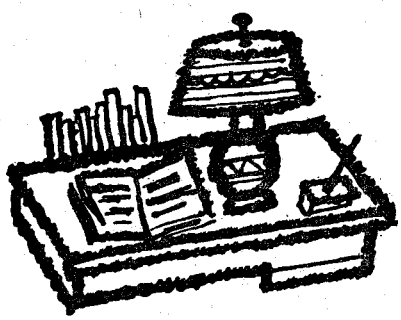
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

men and women seek to explore, debate, question every verity, every assumption, every custom and institution — not to reject them, necessarily, but to test their validity with a powerful new resource they have discovered, their minds.

IT IS the function of educators, as teachers or moralists, to let such minds range freely. For this reason, no body of doctrine or belief or, indeed, error can be kept shut to them like a kind of Bluebeard's chamber. They must be permitted to read and ponder over, see and hear and be exposed to the writings of Marx, Freud and Keynes, the pictures, sculpture and music of Picasso, Moore and Stravinsky, at the same time that they are reading, seeing and hearing the great conservators of our tradition and taste.

By the same token, the open university means that youth has the same rights we seek for ourselves as citizens to form its own clubs, maintain its own discussion groups and platforms, run its own newspapers—without let or interference on the part of university administrators or faculties. To protect them in their later lives from investigation — for more often than not these adventures are only youthful peccadillos — university administrators have no right to ask for membership lists or demand faculty surveillance.

Revolt is not taught in the classroom. The youthful Alexander Hamilton was not made a rebel by his teachers at King's College or the young Shelley by his tutors at Uni-



versity College. Youth becomes rebellious when injustice and inequalities are abroad in the land, leaders are corrupt and society has no confidence in itself.

It is, in consequence, the status of learning in our contemporary world that is alarming. Educators, as scholars and teachers, have been and continue under a cloud of suspicion. Because of an undue concern with security, particularly in the sciences, learning is being regarded as a sensitive area. What Professor Edward Shils so aptly calls "publicity"—free access to scientific knowledge, the rights of publication, open discussion in conferences, and travel by scholars and scientists to other lands and from other lands to ours — is being restricted. Dubious witnesses are being given credence; youthful associations are being exposed to demonstrate unreliability; legislators and self-appointed groups continue to voice their want of confidence in teachers.

Teachers have been asked to sign special loyalty oaths; to purge themselves before investigating committees by giving names of associates; and to surrender an important protection against self-incrimination — the safeguards afforded by the Fifth Amendment. They spend their time and substance defending themselves against calumniators, some of whom are engaged in their traffic professionally. Only too frequently, the administrators of universities have not defended their colleagues under attack; worse still, they have not had the courage to restore to academic life men who have been discharged from teaching posts simply because they refused to answer questions about their private lives by legislative committees. There is a virtual blacklist existing in the American university world that is as mean and cruel as any inquisition.

WHY DO I raise these uncomfortable questions? It is because I believe that neither universities, nor in fact our free society, can survive and knowledge advance unless we can guarantee to scholars and scientists both publicity and privacy. And unless we are to accept beyond question that universities, their faculties and professional associations, should protect themselves against incompetence and the second-rate, the very heart of the principle of free inquiry is surrendered.

We must assume, as a result, the defense of integrity from within through self-policing, and by that I mean by faculties and not by administrators or governing boards. Therefore, the teacher who abuses the privileges of the classroom to indoctrinate can be simply adjudged incompetent by his peers, and be got rid of normally. The scholar whose research is spurious because he is following an unaccepted tendency or a barren line of inquiry can also be got rid of. And as for conduct or association likely to threaten the security of the country, there are the orderly processes of law to handle such crimes—although I must point out that, on the one hand, security has been pushed much too far here, and on the other, to my knowledge not a single active Communist engaged in conspiracy has been unmasked in all the years of investigation of American universities.

All other questions raised affecting the private beliefs and associations of educators are irrelevant. They are citizens and as such have the rights of freedom of speech and association all of us properly claim under the First Amendment. And the rights to due process — at the hands of their peers — when their conduct is being called into question, must be equally assured. Due process in this context means a hearing before an academic body, the right to counsel and a full record of proceedings, the opportunity to confront and cross-examine witnesses and to appeal adverse findings.

Questions of political belief have no bearing on such an inquiry unless they are relevant to a man's responsibilities as a teacher and scholar. That is to say, unless there is substantial evidence of the perversion of the academic process, neither retention of a teacher nor his employment should be affected by beliefs or associations, whether they be political or religious.

IN THE LIGHT of such considerations, the position taken by too many university administrators is not only puzzling but a surrender of their own trust. Thus, the university president quoted previously, after having defended the university's right to examine all sorts of heterodox opinion, goes on to say:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> But the freedom the universities claim is not a negative concept. It is not freedom from all restraints, from all commitment, but the positive freedom to perform the traditional functions of research and teaching in the spirit of truth. . . .
>
> University faculties have only one true valid defense against such attacks; namely, that they demonstrate, on demand, that their educational methods and their traditional findings have been arrived at by trained personnel through the use of thoroughly rational procedures.

Why "on demand"? Universities and their members, their methods and preoccupations, are constantly under scrutiny, in fact, twenty-four hours a day and 365 days a year. Accrediting associations visit classrooms, test curriculums, evaluate results; university admissions offices admit students to higher studies on the basis of examinations or a knowledge of the competence of college teaching staffs; learned societies and their journals are organs of debate where ideas are tested and new contributions to knowledge closely examined. Within the university itself, no matter how large, the achievements and weaknesses of every department and faculty are known to all the rest, and are equally known in other universities.

THE profession of learning watches over its own integrity. We must reject the assumption that its integrity can be preserved only if, "on demand," legislators or self-appointed bodies can periodically call upon the universities to justify themselves.

The Association of American Universities is even willing to surrender the right to privacy altogether. For it has said:

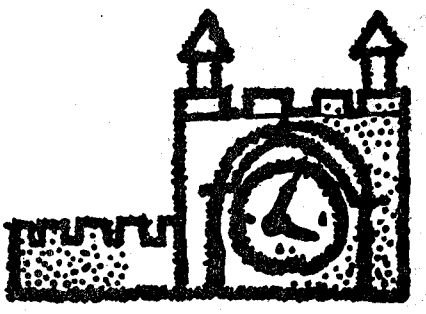
> Legislative bodies from time to time may scrutinize [the universities'] benefits and privileges. It is clearly the duty of universities and their members to cooperate in official inquiries directed to these ends. When the powers of legislative inquiry are abused, the remedy does not lie in non-cooperation or defiance; it is to be sought through the normal channels of informed public opinion.

Of course. An "informed public opinion" can be created if university administrators themselves, regarding this as their first obligation, will ceaselessly exercise themselves in the education of the public, their alumni and their own governing bodies, in the fact that learning has always accepted its responsibilities toward truth. They are likely to get a better hearing if they will demonstrate, by their own works, that an open university exists to satisfy all the legitimate needs of the community for its services and for continuing education. But we must not forget that "non-cooperation and defiance," too, have their place; for such conduct, on the part of persons who refuse to be cowed, leads to an orderly examination of their claims to privacy by the judicial process and frequently adjudication in their favor. The invocation of the law's protections, in the recent *Watkins*, *Jencks* and *Sweezy* cases, proves that "non-cooperation and defiance" can stop unlawful persecutions.

WHAT OF SOCIETY'S claims on learning? There is no quarrel with the position of public authority that it can require that curriculums be devised to meet professional standards and even, more broadly, to examine the means by which the stability of the world in which we live is to be maintained. But curriculums are one thing; the content of the courses themselves entirely another. As Professor Journet Kahn of Notre Dame University has so properly said:

> [Public authority] can in no way prescribe the very truths that are to be taught. . . . Its prescriptions remain exclusively in the order of exercise. . . . The slightest attempt to tamper with objects on the part of the state is a crime against the natural light of intelligence in which alone all the probative evidence is resolved. . . . What is to be taught as true lies completely outside of political jurisdiction.

Granting, in this troubled world of ours, that security is a proper public concern, it must be recognized that any security program is restrictive of the free communication which, as I have pointed out, scholarship and science must have to advance. We must recognize, particularly in regard to science, that we have pushed over-compartmentalization and over-classification, both internally and externally, much too far. And when security, as Professor Shils so cogently points out, is mixed with considerations of maximal loyalty, the autonomy of science is in



real danger. Thus, the autonomy of science is infringed when scientists are prevented, for extra-scientific reasons, from working on problems on which research is possible. It is infringed when scientists are unable to leave America or when foreign scientists are prevented from coming to America to attend meetings and conferences and to lecture at universities. It is infringed when the Post Office and the Customs Service prevent American scholars and scientists from having complete access by subscription and purchase to the newspapers, journals and other publications of other lands.

A good part of these undesirable restraints have flowed from government financing of university science. In this connection, the Council of the American Association for the Advancement of Science has declared:

> Government support has been accompanied by influences which are in some respects inimical to the basic needs of science. Complete freedom of communication regardless of national boundaries is an essential aspect of science; nevertheless, along with government support American science has been burdened with practices that restrict the free flow of information. The interchange of scientific information is sometimes restricted unduly by the overclassification of data that affects national security.

THE PRICE of freedom, obviously, is responsibility and today, particularly, the obligations of the world of

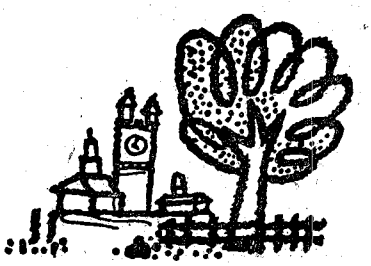
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

learning are heavy. Universities cannot command the respect they must have unless they eschew all those demands on them—whether to furnish entertainment for the outside world and their alumni, needlessly attenuate their curriculums, provide unneeded services for their students—which have nothing to do with the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and speculative research. They must live austerely, managing their resources with the economy and efficiency which we demand of government and business enterprise. There is an enormous amount of waste today in university management in part because university administrators are unfamiliar with financial procedures, in part because they too easily take on commitments under the pressures of would-be benefactors. University administrators should have the courage to say "no" to proffers of financial support for undesirable and unnecessary purposes just as they should seek help for legitimate ones. There must be more cooperation among universities in forming library collections, setting up specialized institutes, and starting and maintaining scholarly journals. They must pay their faculties well to prevent them from seeking unduly additional sources of employment and by better salaries to obtain for them that regard from the outside world which they rightfully should have.

AT THE SAME time, universities must keep an open mind and an open door to experimentation in new disciplines and skills. They must constantly expand the educated class, for in the final analysis the protection of learning will come here. If more and more men will become convinced — and they can be, because they are educable — that speculative effort, or free inquiry, leads to truth, then the university is safe and privacy is safeguarded. By the same token, the stability and progress of society demand more and more training at middle as well as at advanced levels. Universities have a responsibility toward selecting and educating men and women who ultimately will enter into the field of higher learning itself. With this objective there obviously can be no compromise, although in the selection process there is no certainty that youthful promise inevitably leads to adult maturity and creativity. I say, flatly, that the only purpose of the university is *not* the education of Ph.D.s and therefore only future university professors.

Different kinds of training for what we are beginning to call a mass democracy, in consequence, are required; as well as all kinds of terminal degrees, and programs and courses that do not need degrees at all.

If universities are going to be restrictive, selective and *élitist*—as too many privately-supported institutions have announced they plan to be, constantly raising the requirements for admission and refusing to



make adequate plans to expand with our suddenly growing population—they will perforce shut their doors to the great majority of young people and adults who are not only educable but whose trained services we so desperately need. There is no magic in smallness. The great success of the University of California and the New York municipal colleges, as distinguished institutions of learning, proves that quality and size are not necessarily contradictory.

The Russians understand this. C. P. Snow, writing in 1956, pointed out (using the figures for 1954) that whereas the United States and Britain were turning out more pure scientists, in terms of population, than Russia was, Russia was educating more applied scientists than the United States and the whole of Western Europe together. In 1954, the United States was graduating 22,500 applied scientists, Great Britain 5,800 and Russia 60,000 in its technical universities and 70,000 in its technical colleges. Nor is this all. In Russia, one-fifth of university-trained scientists go back to teach in technical colleges and secondary schools, so that the number of qualified science teachers in the USSR in 1954 was over 250,000, as compared with less than 50,000 in the United States and 20,000 in Great Britain. This is the sort of thing we should worry about, rather than the Communist ideology itself.

THIS, then, is what I mean when I have said, in another connection, that a university must always keep its doors open to all qualified students at all times. The survival of learning and of our society depends upon the acceptance of this obligation. Freedom of knowledge means freedom for scholars and scientists; but it also means free access to them for every legitimate community need and by every qualified student regardless of age, previous conditions of education, and whether or not he has a degree intention. Whether a student's purpose is formal training (on a full or part-time basis, during the day or during the night, in regular term or during the summer) or the advancement of his self-interest and tastes, or for occupational improvement, the university should receive him. In order to meet all the complex needs of our world and make possible the education of men and women with all sorts of adult responsibilities, universities should be available day and night and 365 days in the year, at the same time that they continue to explore — through every form of communication, including television and correspondence courses — the means for the extension of educational services.

Learning will be free and will flourish the more persons it exposes, by the educational process and in formal courses, to the rigorous methods of analysis, experimentation and speculation. Our world requires more educated persons at all sorts of levels; and knowledge, as well as our society, will remain free as we continue to encourage the development of an increasing number of educated men and women. This is where the true defense of learning really is to be found. This is the nature of an open university.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Arab Nationalism vs. the Oil International

. . . by L. P. Elwell-Sutton

Edinburgh

THERE HAS BEEN much discussion in recent years of the social and economic implications of the growth of the oil industry in the Middle East. Many diagnoses have been offered, many confident prophesies made—and discredited. Misconceptions arise, it would seem, from a general failure to link the social-economic with the political aspects of Middle Eastern growing pains. Yet closer acquaintance with the one vital thread running through all Middle Eastern affairs today — nationalism — suggests more and more that there can be no further social-economic progress in the area until the major political problems have been solved. It hardly needs to be stated that the chief obstacle to, say, the common development of irrigation schemes in the western areas of the Fertile Crescent, or to the expansion of trade through the Mediterranean, is the purely political one of Arab-Israeli discord; but similar less publicized psycho-political blocks are encountered wherever we turn.

One might sum up the situation by saying that all Arab nationalists (and that means virtually all Arabs) are convinced that paternalist government has reached the limit of its capacity for advancement, that beyond this point there can be no further social or economic progress until political freedom has been achieved. This means in Arab and Moslem eyes not merely democratic freedom within their own borders, but also, and in fact primarily, freedom from dependence on the international policies and decisions of the great powers.

One fact, at least, is clear. The temper of Middle East nationalism is such that direct political government from without, no matter how efficient, no matter how beneficent, is no longer acceptable to the governed. In the few areas where it still survives (Algeria, Cyprus, Aden, the Persian Gulf States), it is fighting a losing rear-guard action, or at best anxiously anticipating the inevitable crash. That it can ever return, even in a new "international" form, is inconceivable.

BUT WITH the steady elimination of direct foreign rule, a new, largely unrecognized, form of foreign political domination is nevertheless taking its place. To borrow the jargon of the Marxists, the last stage of imperialism, in the Middle East at all events, is the control and direction of economic policy and development by foreign, or rather "supra-national," financial and commercial agencies. In the spinning of this spider's web the oil interests are playing a leading role. Since the publication of the Federal Trade Commission's Staff Report in the United States on the *International Petroleum Cartel* in 1952, there can no longer be any doubt of the existence—outside the United States at any rate—of an international grouping of oil companies aiming at, and well on the road to, achieving control of the world's oil industry from production to marketing. What has not yet been brought out so clearly is the place of this cartel structure in the general drift towards international or "supra-national" unification of economic and political policy, as a stage in the attainment of world government. Nowhere, perhaps, is the political aspect of this ostensibly economic trend so explicit as in the Middle East.

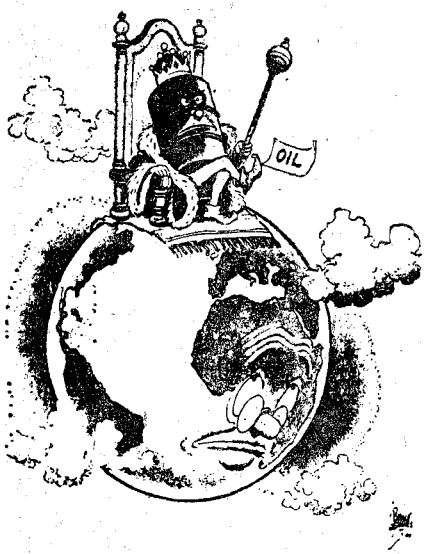
External forces aside, the common urge in the Arab and Moslem world today is also towards unity, but unity of a different kind; not absorption and submersion in a vaster whole, but collaboration on a basis of national, linguistic, social, cultural, religious community of sentiment and interest, with the object of raising themselves to equal status with the established great powers of West and East. In place, therefore, of the idealistic internationalism that pervades most political thinking in the Western world, Arab ideas on unity lean towards nationalism in an intense form, marked on the political level by strongly and sincerely felt xenophobia.

Any movement or policy that takes Arab unity as its watchword can therefore be sure of popular support in Arabia; but it would be misleading to lump all such policies together, to discern no difference, for instance, between the United Arab Republic incorporating Egypt, Syria and Yemen, and the Federated Arab State of Iraq and Jordan. Behind all these moves towards unification of the Arab world we find two great motivating forces—one from without, and one from within. The first is based on practical economic and political considerations; the second surging out of popular sentiment and emotionalism. To what extent are these forces complementary and to what extent in opposition? And if they are to clash, which will prove the stronger?

FIRST OF ALL, we must take a look at the structure of the oil industry in the Middle East. On a purely statistical basis it is bewildering. At least forty oil companies — American, British, Dutch, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Iranian, Turkish, Egyptian and Israeli — have staked out claims in one part or another, and to the uninitiated it might well seem that healthy competition was uninhibited. Closer inspection modifies the picture. Dominating the scene are the seven giant companies named by the Federal Trade Commission report: Standard Oil of New Jersey, Socony-Mobiloil, Standard Oil of California, Texas Gulf Oil, British Petroleum and Royal Dutch-Shell — together with their colleague, the Compagnie Francaise des Pétroles, now a full member of the club. Round these clusters a fringe of "independents"—all now assured of a place on the bandwagon —among which Sinclair, Cities Serv-

L. P. ELWELL-SUTTON, formerly on the staff of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, is the author of Persian Oil, Modern Iran, *and other books.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Shanke in Buffalo Evening News

The Great Dictator

ice, Continental, Tidewater, Phillips and Standard Oil of Ohio may be mentioned out of a medley of Rockefeller, Morgan, DuPont, Getty and lesser interests. In one combination or another, this association of oil companies controls all active production in Saudi Arabia (50,000,000 tons per annum), the Persian Gulf States of Kuwait, Bahrain and Qatar (65,000,000 tons), and Iraq (30,000,000 tons), as well as 95 per cent of production in Iran (30,000,000 tons). The same companies are busy in Libya, in the Sahara (the Compagnie Francaise) and in Dhofar in the southern part of the Arabian State of Muscat and Oman (Cities Service), though production in these areas is as yet negligible.

Only a handful of companies operating in the area have no ties, so far as can be seen, with the dominating group; these small independents hail from the United States, Italy, Western Germany and Japan, and have stakes in Iran, Egypt, Israel, Turkey, Jordan, Syria and Yemen. In addition, national and semi-national companies operate in the first four of these countries. But the total production of the national companies does not exceed 2,500,000 tons a year, and most of this amount comes from Egypt, where the Egyptian Government has taken over the former Shell-owned Anglo-Egyptian fields and has also granted concessions to the Italian state oil concern, the Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi (ENI).

The first fact that leaps to the eye is that the independent companies have so far failed to gain a footing in any of the major oil-producing countries, with the exception of Iran. At the same time they have been left a free hand in all other areas, where so far the prospects of major strikes do not seem bright. Examples of this carefully-planned, if somewhat one-sided, division of the spoils may be seen in the exclusion from Libya of the Italians in favor of a Caltex company, and the fate of the Japanese negotiations for the off-shore rights along the neutral zone between Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Saudi Arabian acceptance of startlingly favorable Japanese terms was deadlocked by the refusal of Kuwait (whose mainland is in Gulf-British Petroleum hands) to make over their share of the rights, without which the concession cannot be worked.

STILL more striking than this neat dovetailing of producer and non-producer countries with cartel and independent exploitation is the line-up of political systems. On the oil side of the fence are the well-heeled, authoritarian, "reactionary" regimes, with a marked tendency (unsupported by their populations) to favor Western foreign policy and to welcome Western aid and investment—Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf protectorates. The "have-nots," on the other hand, are characterized by "popular" governments, a neutralist, xenophobic outlook coupled with a defensive leaning towards the Soviet bloc and a perpetual state of financial and economic crisis. It is unrealistic to see no connection between the political atmosphere of these countries and the presence or absence of major oil companies. Recent history has indicated very clearly that the "supranational" agencies favor stable, cautious, paternalist regimes, and frown on governments that show themselves too responsive to fluctuations in public opinion, too ready to indulge in social and economic experiment.

It was therefore hardly surprising that the formation of the United Arab Republic, with its comparatively democratic system of government, its virtual immunity from oil-cartel interest, and its strong appeal to Arabs in Jordan and indeed throughout the Arab world, should have been rapidly countered by the federation of the Hashemite kingdoms of Iraq and Jordan, with its massive Iraq Petroleum Company backing and its equally obvious appeal to the autocratic rulers of Saudi Arabia and the gulf states. Any spread of popular government into the major oil-producing areas would, one may be sure, be vigorously opposed not only by the rulers of those countries, but also by their financial and economic underwriters, the oil companies and the banking interests behind them.

NEVERTHELESS there are already a number of disturbing elements threatening the status quo in the cartel area. Most formidable are the activities of the Italians and the Japanese, already marked down for their uncooperative attitude during the Persian oil crisis of 1951-53. The Italian ENI has been squeezed out of Libya, but it is doing well in Egypt and has secured a small but promising concession in Iran. The Japanese are well thought of in nationalist quarters, and their temptings may even prove too strong for the determination of the National Iranian Oil Company to exploit the new Qom field without foreign assistance. More alarming is the jolt given to the "fifty-fifty" profit-sharing system that has been *de rigueur* since it was launched by Aramco in 1950. The Italian concession in Iran can be held not to infringe this principle, since the National Iranian Oil Company is to put up half the capital; the Iranian Government therefore receives 50 per cent of the profits as payment for the concession, and half of the remaining 50 per cent as a shareholder. But no such reassuring analysis can be made of the Japanese offer to Saudi Arabia of a 56-44 split of the "neutral zone" offshore rights (an offer rumored to have been topped by a 60-40 bid from an American company). The whole structure seems in danger of toppling once more. The Iraq Petroleum Com-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pany is in a particularly difficult position, since its most recent agreement with the Iraq Government, made in 1952, specifically states that the fifty-fifty terms laid down therein will be open to revision if at any time Iran, Saudi Arabia or Kuwait should be receiving "a higher average revenue per ton than Iraq is at that time receiving." But agreement or no agreement, once the rot has set in, it will be difficult to convince the Middle Eastern governments that the cartel oil companies cannot afford to hand over more than 50 per cent of their profits.

But the cartel's most vulnerable point, and one for which the Hashemite federation can offer no reassuring protection, is the matter of oil transport. It is useless to extract oil from the ground if it cannot be conveyed to its users, as the Iranians found out during the unhappy years from 1951 to 1953. But now, by a twist of irony, it looks as though the weapon used by the cartel against the Iranian Government may be turned against the cartel itself; for all the most convenient routes to Western Europe, the main customer, are straddled by the new United Arab Republic.

THE CASE OF the Suez Canal was brought sharply to international notice in the autumn of 1956; and it was hardly surprising that, at the height of Egyptian nationalist fervor, it should have been the oil companies who spearheaded the demand for internationalization of the Canal Zone. Sixty per cent of the canal's shipping consists of oil tankers carrying some 70,000,000 tons of oil every year. In this case, surprisingly, Arab nationalism won; the canal is still open to the ships of the whole world, but it is firmly in Egyptian hands, a security for good behavior on the Western side in any future clash with the Arab world.

Next in importance come the continental pipelines from the Persian Gulf and Iraq to the Mediterranean. These are Aramco's TAPLINE to Sidon in Lebanon, and the I.P.C.'s lines to Banyas in Syria, Tripoli in Lebanon and Haifa in Israel. Together, these lines can transport some 35,000,000 tons a year. All of them (except the last, closed since 1948), pass through Syria, now United Arab Republic territory; and even before the events of Suez, when Syrian Army units blew up the I.P.C. pumping stations in Syria, their vulnerability to the passions of Arab nationalism was apparent. The long-drawn-out disputes with Lebanon and Syria over transit royalties and tax exemption have yet to be solved, and Syria's new-found strength as a partner in the United Arab Republic is not likely to make her less intransigent.

THERE HAS been much scratching of heads in the search to circumvent this problem. Most fantastic of all has been the proposal to reopen the I.P.C.'s line to Haifa—perhaps not unconnected with the somewhat hasty incorporation of Jordan into Iraq's Federated Arab State. The incorporation at least eliminated nationalist Arab watchdogs from the road; but that the idea of routing Arab oil through Israeli territory can even be seriously discussed in the present climate of Arab public opinion — in Iraq and Jordan as much as anywhere else—is a potent symptom of the hold that Iraq petroleum has on the governmental processes of the federation. More feasible is the scheme for a 50,000,000-ton line through Southern Turkey to Iskenderun; for Turkey, as its earliest victim, has never had much truck with Arab nationalism. This scheme would serve Iraq and Kuwait, and would also have the merit of breaking through the nationalist front by providing an outlet for the National Iranian Oil Company's field at Qom. Israel, always hopeful, has offered yet another solution, a pipeline wholly in Israeli territory from Elath on the Red Sea to Haifa, thus eliminating both the other pipelines and the Suez Canal. None of these schemes seems to give any weight to the certain reactions of the peoples of the producing countries. These reactions have been underlined at Inter-Arab Petroleum congresses in Cairo and Baghdad in recent months, where it was repeatedly stated that Arab oil may only be conveyed through all-Arab pipe-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lines—and certainly not through Israel. The Saudi Arabian Government, advised by a former Aramco president, is planning its own state pipeline. Egypt has even offered to construct a line (first mooted by the tanker magnate Aristoteles Onassis) alongside the Suez Canal. Perhaps Mr. Onassis, with his 80,000-ton super-tankers circling the Cape of Good Hope, may have the last word.

Meanwhile Anglo-American circles are thinking in terms of an internationally-controlled network of pipelines, from which, on the principle of separating transport from production, the oil companies themselves would be excluded. This is hardly likely to appeal to the cartel, but might be tied in with the plan, at present under active consideration by American and European banking and industrial interests, for the establishment of a supra-national Middle East Development Corporation to "plough back" the oil revenues in the most "efficient" way. From this consortium not only oil companies but also governments are to be deliberately excluded.

These supra-national schemes are fated to collide head-on with Middle Eastern nationalism, never stronger than it is today. In the meantime, Western Europe, dependent on Middle East oil for 75 per cent of its needs and trapped between these two irresistible forces, is in for a hard time.

The Pesticide That Came to Dinner . . *by David Cort*

A PESTICIDE is a marvelous poison employed by man to kill other species he finds inconvenient. Over a hundred pesticides are now in use; 30,000 more are registered for use. Since World War II, millions of tons of these poisons have been dumped on the American landscape. Some, such as DDT, are very stable and stay around a long time. Some penetrate the skin of the fruit or vegetable. Some accumulate in the soil. Some affect the taste of the food. Some wipe out beneficial predatory or parasitic insects. Some actually strengthen the breed of undesirable insects, after killing off the weaklings for a few generations.

And of course the average American comes to consume certain quantities of these poisons, especially DDT. The best medical evidence is agreed that the average American now contains in his fatty tissue upwards of five parts in a million of DDT, a nerve-killer. Since the DDT just stays there and new consumption is added to it, the American is slowly becoming a DDT bank. People with as much as 300 parts to a million have shown no immediate ill effects. Ten or fifteen years are usually required to establish long-term effects. For DDT, the time is almost up. This long-staying poison (The Pesticide That Came to Dinner) has now been accused by some doctors of increasing the American incidence of cancer of the blood, leukemia, Hodgkin's disease, jaundice and aplastic anemia. These terrible charges are not brand new; they are six years old.

Yet the United States Department of Agriculture, and the state pest control agencies, officially love DDT.

This infatuation was the subject of a trial, last month and this, in Brooklyn Federal Court before Judge Walter Bruchhausen. The defendants were Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture, and the New York State Commissioner of Agriculture. The respondents were defended by federal and state attorneys. The complainants were fourteen citizens of Long Island, headed by Dr. Robert Cushman Murphy and Archibald Roosevelt, and represented by Roger Hinds and Vincent Kleinfeld.

LAST YEAR the United States had decided that the gypsy moth, a pest that had originally escaped from an experimental silkworm laboratory in Massachusetts in 1869, deserved massive retaliation. A crash program was to go into gear: the gypsy moth was to be purged, as Genghis Khan's generals purged Kharesmia, leaving not one stone standing on another. In fact, 3,500,000 acres, mostly in the Northeast, were sprayed with a variety of DDT designated as chlorophenothane. The fact that the moth was "light and scattered" on Long Island's two outer counties, Nassau and Suffolk, did not deflect the government's mighty rage. It sprayed them too, all of them, instead of the few localities where the moths were lightly entrenched. It sprayed lawns, dairy pastures, ponds, wash-lines, children's playgrounds, baby carriages, from planes often flying as low as 200 feet. This is a relatively congested suburban area, dotted with poultry and vegetable farms and well-tended estates. The overwhelming mass of sprayed acreage had no gypsy moths whatever. Vengeance was visited alike upon the just and the unjust.

The sense of the fourteen citizens' complaint was: "Cut it out." The complaint read, in part: "unless restrained, the defendants will tortiously" (legal word) "and illegally trespass upon the persons and property of the plaintiffs, and cause them irreparable damage."

The DDT, the witnesses testified, had indeed done some killing. It had killed fiddler crabs (which eat the eggs of harmful starfish which destroy oysters and clams). It had killed pond fish, even big carp, almost immediately. It had killed ground-feeding birds such as thrushes and sparrows, as well as chickadees and starlings. It had certainly killed many species of useful small insects, such as ants, bees, etc. In all the constant, fairly even wars set up by nature, the DDT had intervened to wipe out one army and anoint its enemy the victor. The result might well be to launch a dozen new pests, much worse than the gypsy moth, calling for still further crash pro-

DAVID CORT, author of The Big Picture, *is a frequent contributor.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

grams with yet more deadly poisons.

Furthermore, testified a biochemist, the DDT will stay in the soil up to seven years and contaminate all later crops. Furthermore, certain insects build an immunity to DDT and return to the attack refreshed. (For cockroaches, for example, DDT is now about as lethal as a dry martini is for humans; for bedbugs DDT is really lethal.)

Humans, however, said a doctor from Mayo Clinic (since they must live with DDT about 300 times as long as, say, a housefly), have an individual immunity that *decreases* with continued exposure and consumption.

For the government, on an executive decision, to do all this to the private property and persons of the sovereign power would seem unalloyed tyranny. It is, in fact, not even socialism, but straight communism of a kind that is becoming an increasingly victorious American heresy.

AND SO, AS THE Government brought in its witnesses, who would have to be Communist commissars, I paid a visit to the courtroom to get the image of the modern American commissar. These trials in nearly empty courtrooms, where the highly-skilled legal actors are playing *as if* to all the appellate courts up to the Supreme Court, are at once thrilling and soporific. The chief Government counsel had the manner of an actor with a spear in his breast; the fact that he was nearly in tears would have reached to the balcony, had there been one, and will reach, he would hope, to the Supreme Court. The chief counsel for the citizens was a little Giant Panda; he delegated the cross-examination to his saturnine assistant, Vincent Kleinfeld—remember him. The judge, bony, gray and possum-eyed, had a kindly, apprehensive air.

The commissar I saw had a trick, while waiting for a question, of tipping his head back and closing his eyes dreamily, as if to convey that he could handle all this in his sleep. It was infectious; one of the court attendants took a nap.

The commissar, a thoroughly nice man (as perhaps Moscow commissars are too), testified that the executive decision to hit the enemy, the gypsy moth, had gone through channels, that DDT had never bothered human beings as far as he could see, and that DDT only killed those species of animal life that the Government told it to kill, so far as he had ever been able to determine.

Have I made his evidence ridiculous enough? I don't know how to get any more satirical. He might have said that the DDT was so patriotic it just couldn't have killed decent American fiddler crabs, carp, thrushes and sparrows; but actually he didn't. He might have said that good frontier-stock Americans ought to be able to handle an ingestion of DDT; but in fact he didn't. All that he did was to issue the party line, with his eyelids disdainfully and patiently shut: America crushes its enemy—the gypsy moth; no second-guessing is needed or wanted.

There are two ways of dismissing the above story: perhaps the Government hadn't known what it was doing; or second, perhaps it won't do it again, anyway.

Taking the second first, the Government will begin this spring spraying 27,000,000 acres of the South, from South Carolina to Texas, as a crash program against the fire ant. The weapons will be a pesticide called dieldrin, two and a half times more lethal than DDT, and another called heptachlor. The fire ant nests in mounds two feet tall, sometimes occurring a hundred to an acre, and can very easily be extirpated specifically on the ground; but the Government will use indiscriminate spraying by planes, inevitably killing quail.

Since this pest is in the Deep South, a great deal of wonderful tall talk has already enveloped the fire ant. Some white Southerners on picnics have been bitten on the backside by fire ants; one such bite would more than justify a crash program to a Democratic Congress. There is a story that these fire ants are half-breeds between black and reddish fire ants, both smuggled in from Latin America; but Northern entomologists think they are native American fire ants, and that the immigrants are found only around several Gulf ports. As you can see, a certain satirical symbolism seems to ride behind this whole matter of pesticides, making faces. Anyway, Congress has appropriated $2,400,000 for the fire-ant war, and the states will add amounts up to $500,000, as in Florida.

AS FOR THE Government's other excuse, that it didn't know what it was doing, I have before me three volumes, dated 1951 and 1952, of testimony before a Congressional Select Committee concerning the use of chemicals, including pesticides, on the national ecology. The chief counsel for the committee was this same Vincent Kleinfeld we have just met. The machinery does exist, under this democracy, and is actually used, to ventilate these terrible threats to the public welfare. The evidence ran to nearly 2,000 pages; the seven honorable Congressmen heard most of it; but what good is it? What is overridingly more important is that man has discovered a new weapon, and he tends to go crazy, whether it is a spiked club, a new car or a hydrogen war-head.

In 1951-1952, all the necessary evidence was given to the Congress of the United States.

DDT, it was testified, is consumed by people on and in fruits and vegetables, and in the beef, milk and butter of cows whose backs, barns and silage have been DDT-sprayed. New-born babies contain some DDT at birth and ingest still more with their mothers' milk.

To comfort hypochondriacs, it should be added that, as far as we know yet, most of us seem able to carry our DDT load without any apparent injury. Still, it is far from beneficial.

Chlordane, another chlorinated hydrocarbon, is five times as toxic as DDT, is stored by the human body fat much more rapidly, and causes rapid degeneration of the liver and kidneys. It is used on some food crops and in household pesticides (including the one on my own kitchen shelf). An added difficulty with chlordane, as with toxaphene, aldrin, dieldrin and heptachlor, is that there is at present no satisfactory analytical method for finding

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it in food. Yet all these are in general and expanding use.

Selenium, in intakes as small as only three parts per million, will produce cirrhosis, and then cancer, of the liver. It penetrates the skin of sprayed fruit and also builds up in the soil, thence moving into the growing plant.

Phenylmercury compounds, a fungicide, are very poisonous and accumulate in the kidney. They have been used extensively on fruit and vegetable crops.

Benzene hexachloride (BHC) produces off-flavors in the canned product, and also has a toxic effect on the brain tissue of the consumer.

Arsenicals used as pesticides can definitely produce cancer of the skin, if as little as 0.19 gram is ingested.

Beta-naphthylamine, which is hardly toxic at all, will produce cancer of the bladder, if taken even in very minute quantities. (This is used in dyes, not in pesticides.) The champion chemical producer of cancer is probably acetylaminofluorene developed as an insecticide. It can put cancer into the liver, stomach, breast, thyroid, kidney, bladder, genital tract, external auditory canal and occasionally the brain. Entirely by accident, some English scientists stumbled on the discovery of its great carcinogenic powers before it was used. This was a narrow escape. But since new and insufficiently tested chemicals are constantly going on the market, society is actually skating on a very thin sheet of ice.

HERE AGAIN, some qualification is necessary. Some pesticides, if sprayed long enough before the harvest, will have evaporated or washed off the crop in plenty of time. Also, since the American public now demands nearly perfect fruit and vegetables, the farmer cannot sell his produce unless he kills off the bugs with something. The wormy apple is now unsalable in America. The pesticide, properly used, is indispensable to the job of feeding the world.

But the 1951-52 Congressional investigation fully brought out that the current infatuation with chemicals often approaches homicidal insanity. Apart from pesticides, a very few examples, out of many, would include: That the flour industry for thirty years used nitrogen trichloride, called Agene, which causes hysteria in dogs. That the Food and Drug Administration managed to seize and destroy frozen peaches sprayed with thiourea, very poisonous. That the poison, para-phenetyl, was used for fifty years as a sweetening agent. That lithium chloride killed some people before it was removed from the market. That mineral oil in food prevented human absorption of important vitamins. That monochloracetic acid, used commonly as a food preservative, was as poisonous as strychnine or carbolic acid (some manufacturers, mostly in the South, ignored this information for some time). That cheese wrappers made with dehydroacetic acid were equally poisonous. That "emulsifiers" are commonly used to offset lowered egg and fat content in breads, cakes and mixes. That women were permanently blinded by an eyelash preparation using pyrogallic acid. And so on. And on.

Most of these many problems are now under control. In any case, a few deaths or outbreaks or blindings will bring summary action. But pesticides present the much more difficult problems of massive, slow poisoning of the whole American people and the possible dislocation and ruin of the whole ecology and economy to a point of no return. The pesticides have the support, not only of the great chemical companies, the farmers and the great food distributors, but also of the unarguable fact that the bugs that want to eat our food are our enemies. These bugs, as well as such innocent bystanders as the poor fiddler crabs, carp and thrushes, have no vote under our system of government.

AND NOW it is a pleasure to point out that even corporations number their saints. One such is Beech-Nut Packing, which sets its tolerance of DDT traces in the raw foods it buys at practically zero. The witness, Dr. L. G. Cox, a Beech-Nut research chemist, noted that this policy costs the company about $100,000 a year and the goodwill of the farmers who, however, sell their condemned crops to other canners or the open market. He testified that human mother's milk averaged 0.14 parts of DDT per million, that 100 parts DDT per million killed a third of young turkey poults consuming it. Chlordane as a soil residue, he said, gets into carrots. Benzene hexachloride used on cotton was present in the next, rotated crop of peanuts, which the company rejected. The same chemical has also been found in Florida squash and celery, Pennsylvania peaches and spinach, South Carolina sweet potatoes and New York apples. The company has found chlordane on California celery and New York cabbage and carrots.

Beech-Nut makes baby foods and peanut butter; its scrupulousness is understandable but unfortunately unique. The witness did not think much of the so-called experts, who are usually economic entomologists. Some of these, he said, "who have been active in the development of certain ill-advised pesticide recommendations have tended to become chemical specialists rather than entomologists." He quoted another opinion on this expert: "He ceases to be a biologist and, in the majority of cases, becomes in effect, a mere tester of poisons or an insecticide salesman."

The response of the Manufacturing Chemists Association to such

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

testimony was to raise a fund among its members to fight the bad news. The witness put the fund at $119,000 at that time. A meeting of the association did not let Dr. Roy C. Newton, vice-president of Swift & Co., make the following remarks:

> ...It is not clear from the publications emanating from the chemical industry over the past two years that many of the members of this industry understand why a new material cannot be adapted to the food industry as quickly as it can to plastics, textiles, etc.... Running through this series of propaganda articles are many unsound premises [such as a sense of persecution; that since all foods are chemical, all chemicals are food; that anything, even salt, can be poison; etc.] . . . I have spent all my business life in the food industry. ...I believe there is a real threat to the food industry.... [If] the Food and Drug Administration [is] prevented from carrying out its responsibility of protecting the public ... there will undoubtedly be a surge of new chemical substances incorporated in food without adequate pretesting.
>
> Such a program will lead to a disaster, just as surely as we are assembled here today. Such a disaster will reflect discredit to the food industry; incidentally, it will also reflect discredit to the chemical industry, but the principal damage will be done to the public...
>
> May we hope that part of the activity of the Manufacturing Chemists Association will be directed toward the education of its own members who may not understand clearly their responsibilities.

This voice, so much more grave and gentlemanly than my own, is surely entitled to the last word on the subject.

ATOM BLASTS CAN BE SPOTTED . . *by David Bird*

> There can be no doubt that if a nation wants to carry out [nuclear] tests in secrecy, observation will become difficult and uncertain.—*Dr. Edward Teller, University of California physicist who is commonly referred to as "the father of the H-bomb."*
>
> On the technical matter of whether you could develop a system to enforce the test ban, I think you can do this.—*Dr. Willard F. Libby, scientific member of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.*

THE SOVIET Union's unilateral renunciation, *pro tem*, of further nuclear tests simply points up the need to settle once and for all the controversy now pervading the question of whether nuclear-disarmament agreements can be made to stick through workable inspection methods. It is a controversy that is carried on mainly in the dark because the United States Atomic Energy Commission, presumably to keep the Russians in equal darkness, has held nuclear-explosion detection methods under a cloak of secrecy ever since it made its first cryptic announcement almost nine years ago that the Russians had set off their first atom bomb.

Since then the AEC has regularly announced Russian nuclear tests, but its sparse reports have never mentioned how these were detected or how accurate the detection methods are. Actually, the most the Government has revealed came in a statement from President Eisenhower at a recent news conference. He said that "with proper inspectional facilities, seismic and electronic, and so on, [nuclear tests] ought to be detected."

If this dearth of information leaves the average citizen with little basis to make an intelligent judgment in the face of emotional appeals for and against nuclear-inspection systems, it has also left at least some atomic scientists in a similar position. Dr. Harrison Brown, a professor of geochemistry at the California Institute of Technology who worked on the development of the first atomic bomb at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, said in testimony before the Senate Disarmament Subcommittee that it was easier to get information on radioactivity and its detection from Japan than from the Atomic Energy Commission. He added that the Japanese regularly and voluntarily sent him this information, while the AEC required a "special plea," although he has the highest type of security clearance.

Dr. Brown suggests that this withholding of information gives those in control excessive power in policy formation, since they can make statements which cannot be checked or refuted by critics.

As Dr. Brown's testimony indicates, there has been considerable activity outside the AEC's security net on methods of detecting nuclear tests. Much work has gone on in Japan; some has been done by American scientists independently of the AEC. A great deal has been published without any type of security label. Unfortunately, most of the nuclear news that reaches the American public is channeled through government. And the AEC, adhering to its policy of secrecy, refuses to recognize this information from outside its domain. That this domain is effectively extended to other government agencies is illustrated by the Weather Bureau official who, when asked recently about the detection of nuclear blasts through minute barometric variations, refused to comment on the grounds of security.

Barometric variation as a means of detecting nuclear explosions — which hasn't rated public comment in this country—has been under experimentation and perfection for several years in Japan. With it the Japanese have been able to pinpoint quickly the location of the U.S. and Russian nuclear tests. It is one of the four main techniques, developed outside the AEC, of detecting these tests, according to Dr. Jay Orear, a Columbia University physicist who has been exploring the field in nonclassified research. The other methods

---

DAVID BIRD is on the staff of The New York Times.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are through seismic waves, visible light and radioactivity.

Barometric variations can measure the energy that is transmitted to the air from an explosion. This energy travels the way sound does and with the same speed. When the energy reaches a sensitive microbarometer (similar to those used to check weather conditions by changes in air pressure) it causes a sharp movement in the markings on the recording drum. By noting the time the shock wave is recorded on microbarometers at varying distances and different points in relation to the blast, the exact location can be determined. Judging by the accuracy with which the Japanese have detected Russian and U. S. tests more than 2,000 miles away, this method appears to be the most sensitive and quickest for detecting a nuclear explosion.

SEISMIC waves can detect nuclear tests through another set of disturbances — in the earth. Both earthquakes and explosions are picked up by seismographs, but each phenomenon has its own signature. Earthquakes, a long and complex pattern of shifting of the earth, manifest a long and complex pattern on the seismograph chart. Explosions, on the other hand, are sharp and compact movements and show up this way on a seismograph. Another difference is that an explosion is totally *outward* in its movement from its point of origin, and thus shows up with a similar *outward* initial movement on all seismographs, no matter where located with relation to the blast. Earthquakes show up as different patterns on seismographs, depending on whether the instruments are situated in the "push" or the "pull" direction in relation to the quake. Seismographs are generally the only means of detecting underground blasts. Their effectiveness is attested by the fact that the AEC's underground test last September in Nevada was detected in College, Alaska, more than 2,000 miles away.

All nuclear explosions above the ground give off tremendous amounts of light and this provides for the third method of detection—visible light. The hot gases generated by a nuclear explosion produce the characteristic large ball of fire. While not admitting that this is a means of detection that it utilizes, the AEC has stated that "the fireball from a 1-megaton nuclear bomb would appear to an observer sixty miles away to be more than thirty times as brilliant as the sun at noon." In several of the nuclear tests made at the Nevada test site, in all of which energy yields were less than 100 kilotons, the glare in the sky, in the early hours of the dawn, has been visible 400 or more miles away. The AEC goes on to say that "as a general rule, the luminosity does not vary greatly with the energy or power of the bomb." The light from an atomic blast can be seen many miles away because of reflection from the upper atmosphere in much the same way that we see the sun in the form of twilight long after it has disappeared below the horizon. An inspection station checking on nuclear tests could be equipped with sensitive electric eyes to detect the brightness from a bomb blast. Generally, the limit of effective detection by this method would be about 500 miles.

Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

They Sure Are Orbiting!

The fourth detection technique measures the "dirt" that comes from a nuclear explosion—radioactivity. Every nuclear bomb—even the "96 per cent clean" ones that have been tested recently—releases radioactive particles into the air. Some of these fall to earth quickly, but others are carried into the upper air currents. These particles eventually come down to earth and a nuclear explosion is indicated when the radioactivity count rises, as shown on a Geiger counter. The location of the bomb blast can be determined by charting the speed and direction of the air currents from which the samples were taken. The length of time that has elapsed since the blast released the radioactive particles can be measured by the age of the particles, which decay at a determinable rate. The main drawback in this method is that it may take weeks for the particles to drift into a detection station. Thus where speed in identification is necessary, other techniques will be used and radioactivity samples will serve only as a backstop check.

Using these four methods of detection, Dr. Orear, the Columbia physicist, feels that inspection stations within 300 miles of each other would be able to detect even low-yield tests in the low-kiloton range. *Transferring this to a map, for example, it would require only some twenty-five outposts in the Soviet Union to detect a test anywhere within that country's 8.7 million square miles of area.* It should be pointed out, in this connection, that the USSR has agreed in principle to the establishment of inspection posts.

All four of the detection systems can check on nuclear explosions above the earth—the most dangerous type because they release deadly radioactive fallout into the air. Deep underground tests, which do not release contamination and are more useful for the non-military applications of atomic power, can still be detected by at least one method—seismic waves.

While nuclear tests above and under the ground have been the most frequent types, there remains one other general method: underwater testing. This has been claimed to be somewhat difficult to detect in spite of the fact that underwater tests at Bikini were recorded on seismographs. But even with these, there are at least two methods of detection: by measuring samples of water for increases in radioactivity and by using hydrophones to check disturbances in the water in precisely the manner in which microbarometers are used to detect air vibrations.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HIGH NOON in OKLAHOMA . . *by Thomas H. Uzzell*

Stillwater, Oklahoma

THREE GENERATIONS ago bandits wandered around this part of Oklahoma where I live, stole from the farmers, robbed banks and held up trains. Irate citizens, led by state marshals, tracked and shot them down. Today a corporation having the monopoly privilege of serving us with gas raises its rates with the permission of a compliant state Corporation Commission. It is common gossip that the gas company unfairly is earning millions which are siphoned off to New York investors. Gas users feel that they have been robbed and that somebody should do something. These good, still hospitable folk—what do they do? Go for their shotguns and organize a posse as their parents and grandparents did seventy-five years ago or advance on the Corporation Commission, armed with lawyers and accountants, and insist on justice? Not they. They complain bitterly among themselves, but not for publication; they shrink from attending protest meetings; they grumble that "you can't fight a corporation"; they resignedly shrug their shoulders, sink into their armchairs and watch the galloping posses on their living-room screens.

Two months ago, for the third time in ten years, the Oklahoma Natural Gas Company announced that it needed more money and the Corporation Commission promptly allowed an increase in rates, this time one that netted four extra millions. The company had shrewdly asked for six. To ease its conscience, the Corporation Commission staged a "conference" between gas company officers and customers. The commissioners, although elected by the people to protect them, decided not to be present. They have no stomach for a fight, preferring to reach decisions after quiet, friendly talks with the right people.

Four million dollars of the 355,000 gas users' money were at stake in that conference, yet only two customers prepared to talk showed up: Robert O. Cunningham, a legislator from Oklahoma City, and myself, a retired professor of English from the college city of Stillwater. On one side of the long table were arrayed the president, chairman of the board, engineers, accountants and lawyers who had come down from gas company headquarters in Tulsa, "the oil capital of the world," to defend the rate increase. Representative Cunningham fired his charges of misuse of company funds, illegal subsidiaries and faked statements of assets for increased rate calculations. The company's experts asked for proof; Mr. Cunningham had documents, but not enough to nail down his accusations. He disappeared and left me to carry on.

THE ensuing scene was as good as anything in *The Solid Gold Cadillac*. A multi-million dollar company was arrayed against a single stubborn citizen, one gas user out of 355,000. The other citizens, who had felt the grasping hand of a monopoly corporation in their pockets, had 354,998 alibis for not being there. Representative Cunningham is a politician and, the gas tycoons charged, was more interested in headlines than in his gas bill, but I am not a politician or businessman and I was loaded with questions. The company officers said they respected and appreciated my presence and invited me to shoot. I shot and they proceeded in a firm but friendly manner to demolish me.

Not entirely: I scored a few hits. I asked what profits the company was making from supplying our city with gas. They said they didn't know and obviously didn't want me to know. Gas engineers in our gas-rich community had told me that the figure must be around $100,000 annually, half the money we sorely need for a new school building. They also told me that the city's present gas rate could be cut in half by using gas wells of the region which are now capped for want of a market. Most of our gas is piped from a distance for reasons best understood by big operators in Tulsa.

I reviewed the reasons the gas company had given the public for another rate increase, adding that every one of them sounded fishy to me. They had alleged that they needed more money to meet an expected increase in the cost of gas. Gas producers and engineers had told me that the company has in reserve and contracted for enough gas to supply its needs for the next twenty years and that this important item in costs was under control. I was told I was misinformed and was treated to a history of the petroleum industry and its current practices. A flock of expert instructors; one pupil, who remained unconvinced. I needed the help of the people's Corporation Commission, but it was conferring quietly on more important matters in the next room.

The gas company had requested more money to pay taxes. I challenged the president's right to ask me to pay my own taxes and also his company's. He informed me that every business passed its taxes along to its customers; it was standard practice. I objected that a salaried gas user couldn't pass his taxes along to anyone, that he had to contribute to the costs of government out of his profits. The intent of the taxing power was to levy on profits; it certainly wasn't the intent of the law to have the citizen, struggling for a living, pay everybody's taxes. The only answer to this argument was smiles. Poor, naive professor!

We ended our debate; the president and I highlighted the drama on television; we filed before the Corporation Commission. The commissioners scheduled a formal hearing on the rate question for March 27, at which they would preside.

Soon after, I faced the Mayor and members of our Board of Commissioners of Stillwater at their weekly public meeting. (I had invited a dozen leading citizens to attend and join the discussion; all rejoiced over my "fine fight" and said they'd try to attend the meeting. Two came, a cafe owner and a baker.) I asked

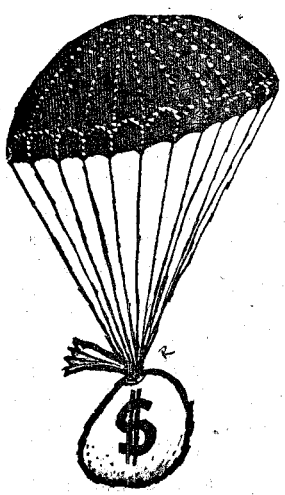
---

THOMAS H. UZZELL, former associate professor of English at Oklahoma State University, is the author of several books on the techniques of writing.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the city officials why none of them had been present at the conference with the gas company. Fighting a big corporation, they told me, was useless. "You can fight big money only with big money, and we haven't got it." I told them how they could wake up the gas users of the entire state and it would cost them nothing. They reminded me that the Corporation Commission was elected to defend the people's pocketbooks and that the gas rate was the commission's worry. That's the joke of the year, I told them, and the city fathers fell silent. In the end they agreed to "send a man" to the next hearing. (Actually, the entire board showed up at the next hearing. The Mayor, a member of the board, rose, said he protested for his city, and sat down. I had furnished the Mayor with a protest prepared by experts, but he didn't read it.)

The local newspaper, reporting on these events the next day, ingeniously slanted its story to make me slightly ridiculous and the gas company appear to be the servant of the people and a generous contributor to the city's tax kitty. I offered the editor of the paper a transcript of what I had said at the hearing in the Capitol and before the officers of the city, reminding him that I was trying to save the city $100,000 a year. My copy was flatly refused. It seems that I irritated them with my request for a correction. "Our reporter has been to college, has learned his trade, and we have to trust him." That remark reminded me that something must be done to improve our schools. I may try that next. More fun!



LETTERS

(*Continued from inside cover*)

ments of his new-orthodox teachers, becoming more Niebuhrian than Neibuhr at just about the time when more discerning disciples of Niebuhr—and it begins to appear Niebuhr himself—recognize that some of his views need correction.

Indirectly, J. Bronowski's brilliant piece on automation also serves the cause of peace.

A. J. MUSTE

New York City

Two Suggestions On the Depression

Dear Sirs: Is the current depression really a depression, or merely a cessation of the ever-increasing inflation which we have had? And is the action being taken in Washington anything more than action to maintain inflation? Let me go into this a little more.

We have over-production, not of course in terms of human needs, but in terms of profits. The "law of supply and demand" begins to operate. Normally, this should lower prices. But this the manufacturers (automobiles, for example) will not do. Instead, they close down plants, or let off shifts, and we have the situation in Detroit. This is called a "recession," and business screams for help. In Washington, at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, politicians are falling all over themselves to do something—the same politicians who, a year ago, fell over themselves to reduce government spending. Now they talk of increased "defense spending," more public works, lower credit requirements, even a tax cut.

And there is more to it than this. Secretary Dulles admits that three-quarters of our spending for "foreign aid" is spent here, in the first instance, and the remainder returns to the United States, sooner or later, "mostly sooner." Is this, after all, what "foreign aid" and "defense spending" and the hullabaloo about communism, are *for?*

One need not favor communism, or be disloyal, to anticipate what would happen if it were not for the fifty-odd billions of dollars spent for defense and to combat communism throughout the world.

Where there is a pattern, there is quite likely apt to be a plan. It can hardly go unasked much longer what the Russians are going to do if we keep on building military and naval, and now atomic-missile, bases all over the world. The most elementary honesty raises the question whether we really want world peace, or war.

And one final thing. Is it not socialism when the government collects eighty billions in taxes and pours it into business—precisely as some of the reactionaries, who benefit by it most, contend? Or is it *not* socialism when it comes to getting the government contracts, but only socialism when it comes to paying taxes? Aren't we headed precisely where the Communists have contended we would head? And aren't Communists, in keeping us headed that way, practicing the "brinkmanship" in a most successful way?

SELWYN COLE

Los Angeles

Dear Sirs: It is the opinion of this writer that the thirty-two-hour, four-day work week is the answer to our economic problem. Radical perhaps, but perfectly feasible and in line with precedent. From 1914 to 1957, we increased our gross national product from $38 billion to $434 billion—an increase of over 100 per cent. During the same period we reduced the average working week from 49.4 to 39.9 hours, a decrease of 19 per cent. A reduction of the present work week to thirty-two hours from its present 39.8 hours would be only slightly greater than the reduction noted since World War I. This program should be made immediately available to all wage earners in the mining and manufacturing classes, who would receive the same pay for thirty-two hours as they normally get for forty hours. The extra pay should be given by the employer, but financed by the government.

What would the program cost? In 1957, we had a total of 17,615,000 workers earning $76 billion yearly. If these workers are to continue to draw the same wages for only four-fifths of time worked, one-fifth of the $76 billion pay roll must be subsidized, i.e., $15,200,000,000.

Since the program would by its nature curtail total production by about 20 per cent, all our unemployed—now constituting about 20 per cent of our work force—would get their jobs back.

Would such a program have to be permanently subsidized? No. Subsidies would be based on present pay rolls. As each employer found it necessary to add to his labor force to meet product demands, the subsidies would proportionately decrease. It would be necessary to establish a ceiling at which point subsidies would cease completely.

DAVID ARONOFF

Los Angeles, Calif.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

The Molds of the Public Mind

1. The Press

RESPONSIBILITY IN MASS COMMUNICATION. By Wilbur Schramm. Harper & Bros. 391 pp. $4.50.

Lester Asheim

STUDENTS of press practice may be disappointed to find that Mr. Schramm's recommendations aren't a great deal different from those already succinctly made in 1947 by the Commission on Freedom of the Press. Not that a reaffirmation of the commission's major criticism isn't needed. Almost the only media that gave the commission anything like adequate attention back in 1947 were those few which had been cited for commendation; by and large, the press killed the report by a conspiracy of neglect. By so doing, it established pretty conclusively that the commission was right about the dangers inherent in the concentration of control represented by today's press—but who besides a few scattered readers of the report ever knew it?

Mr. Schramm's book may stand a better chance, for he has added a collection of interesting and informative case histories to his study, all of which make vivid the moral dilemmas faced by practicing journalists, and many of which show the press acting responsibly and with integrity. Schramm tends to present a more sympathetic view of the press, and to give it higher marks for ethical conduct, than did the commission. That the press does not always act responsibly he admits, but he concludes that "The fundamental responsibility of the mass media is to remain free in order to represent the public's right to know. This principle is old and honored, and by and large the media know what is expected of them in defense of free communication."

This volume is one of a series on the ethics and economics of society, prepared under the direction of a study group of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. Its audience presumably has not heretofore paid much attention to the problem of the press, and Mr. Schramm has therefore carefully recapitulated the history of its changing social role. Borrowing from an earlier study he did with Fred Siebert and Theodore Peterson, Schramm sees the press arriving at last at a theory of "Social Responsibility" in its steady upward progress through the theories of Authoritarianism, Libertarianism, and Authoritarianism-with-Communist-Trimmings. The three earlier stages are rejected by Schramm as no longer useful; Authoritarianism and Soviet Communist theory for obvious reasons, and Libertarianism because it romantically overlooks the realities of modern society. Libertarianism as a theory of the press, Schramm feels, relied on reason to discriminate between truth and error; required the "free market place of ideas" if reason was to work; and saw the function of the press to be to act as a check on government, which was (in those days) the major source of interference with the free and reasonable man. Such a theory is no longer acceptable "because we now feel that man is not so adept at deriving truth as had been believed, and that libertarian practice, in this age of few and big media, no longer provides a truly free market place of ideas."

AND SO we move into the new era of Social Responsibility. Here the negative freedom of libertarianism is rejected in favor of a positive freedom, a freedom which carries not only rights, but concomitant obligations. Under libertarianism, freedom was freedom *from*: from restraints, restrictions, governmental interference. Under the theory of social responsibility, freedom is also freedom *for*: for the kind of communication which fulfills the needs of contemporary society.

This, as Schramm himself is quick to acknowledge, is where the Commission on Freedom of the Press came out. And it is at this point that this book, like the commission report, begins to fall apart in our hands. For in both, the improvement of the press rests upon a vague hope that somehow people will stop acting as people have always acted, and will begin to place some abstract, long-term vision of the public good above personal considerations and short-term self-interest.

The commission, for example, hoped that the press would clean its own house. Not very convinced that it would do so, the commission held out as an alternative the possibility of governmental control. But it was so clear from the report that the commission feared government abuses even more than it did those of the press that the threat became idle. In sum, the commission's recommendation was essentially, "Aw, c'mon fellas; be nice . . ."

Mr. Schramm takes the commission's recommendations one step further; in addition to the potential reform energies of the press itself and of the government, he invokes the power of an informed public.

And like the commission, Schramm finds himself with a two-edged sword to wield. For public pressure on the policy of public institutions is exerted primarily through pressure groups, and the history of pressure group activities is even less reassuring than the history of the press. Begging the public to make its wants known, Schramm must assume that the public isn't satisfied with what it now gets—a dubious assumption at best. He must assume also that what he and his select group of readers want is what is best for the public (an assumption that I'm more ready to accept since what he wants is what I want). And he tends to ignore the fact that much of what the public learns it learns from the mass media as they now exist, and that the public is likely to learn what an improved press can be only after the press has improved.

YET this is the way things *ought* to be, and it is good to have someone like Schramm say so. Unless the social responsibility of which Schramm speaks actually is assumed by those who control press content, a way of life in which we most urgently believe is in danger. But as Schramm admits, "What we are asking of the mass media, in effect, when we ask them to put the public's right to know above their own self-interest, is that they live up to a higher standard of public service than other businesses. Is that justified? I think it is, because the media are businesses of the kind they are."

It may be justified, but how realistic is it to imagine that the media will respond? Mr. Schramm's phrase: "because the media are businesses of the kind they are" can be read two ways; he chooses to see it as a reason for hope. But because the media are busi-

LESTER ASHEIM is dean of the Graduate Library School, the University of Chicago.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nesses of the kind they are, they effectively buried the commission's criticisms ten years ago. The Schramm volume presents them with another chance to contemplate the kind of press they could be. It remains to be seen whether the past decade has led them to any greater awareness of their social responsibility.

2. The Avenue

MADISON AVENUE, U.S.A. By Martin Mayer. Harper & Bros. 324 pp. $4.95.

David Boroff

AFTER reading this book no one is likely to make his casual little joke about the advertising gentry. We have been foolish, often confusing our image of the ad-man with the idiot jabber of advertising slogans. Readers of Martin Mayer's book will learn a new respect for the massive technology of Madison Avenue, its dazzling ingenuity, daring and nimbleness.

Madison Avenue, U.S.A. is a travelogue through the labyrinthine alleys of the advertising industry; Mayer, who worked hard at his research, captures the flavor of the business through direct quotations from its leading figures. His solid, vivid handbook is pleasantly enlivened by anecdote, salted with a gently sophisticated wit and illuminated by insight.

We are taken behind the scenes of the largest and most brilliant agencies and initiated into the arcana of media selection, selling campaigns and motivation research. And we are impressed throughout by the marriage of Madison Avenue and the Academy. The social sciences, in particular, are boldly expropriated. One has an uneasy vision of the New Omniscience: bright young Ph.D.s marching remorselessly toward the Promised Land in which your psychic economy and mine are neatly processed and labeled. Happily, there is as yet no Holy Writ in the advertising industry; its leading figures are chaotically schismatic. There is currently, for example, an ideological war between the proponents of *brand image* and of *USP* (unique selling proposition), a pivotal issue on which advertising campaigns turn. But the portents are clear: more and more the advertising industry is siphoning off some first-rate university talent and adopting sound academic methodology.

But toward what end? This is a question that Mayer adroitly ducks. And there are other questions that tug at one's mind. How do all these bright, knowledgeable people feel about their jobs? I don't mean the stale morality-play issue of selling their souls, but surely they must confront the disparity between their sizable skills and the trivial ends to which those skills are applied—very often advertising people are too good for their work. And how much creative talent is drained off from other pursuits, which I am unregenerate enough to regard as more important and productive?

THERE are yet larger social issues that Mayer evades. How does the incessant clamor to buy, buy, buy, shape the American personality? Advertising is a giant lathe turning out the furniture of our collective mind. And what effect does advertising copy have on our linguistic habits? Aren't commercials, in effect, the degraded folk literature of our time? Despite the author's perfunctory admission of the aesthetic Neanderthalism of advertising, he makes no adequate effort to face up to the sheer, sibilant horror of most copy.

The tricky, defensive logic of the industry is epitomized in Mayer's argument of the *added value*: "Whenever a benefit is promised from the use of a product, and the promise is believed, the use of the product carries with it a value not inherent in the product itself." There is about this an unsavory mixture of pragmatism and the shell game.

Mayer is on much firmer ground when he points out that the liberal hates the guts of the advertising fraternity because it forces upon him a true image of popular culture. "It hits him where it hurts worst," the author observes, "in his politically liberal and socially generous outlook, partly nourished by his avoidance of actual contact with popular taste." But Mayer does not deal adequately with the related issue that advertising plays a key role in shaping popular taste.

The author previously of *Wall Street: Men and Money*, Mayer makes the best possible case for the advertising industry. I finished his book feeling like the kid in an anecdote he tells. After seeing a particularly vapid commercial on TV, he turns to his father, an agency executive, and says: "Dad, am I to understand that a bunch of grown men sat around and thought up that thing? And another bunch of grown men sat around and said it was a good idea? And another bunch of grown men went to all the work to make a movie of it?"

DAVID BOROFF, a member of the department of English at Brooklyn College, has written for Commentary, Dance Magazine, The New York Times *and elsewhere.*

Love in Solitude

THE HIRELING. By L. P. Hartley. Rinehart & Co. 272 pp. $3.50.

Max Cosman

TO ACCEPT Sartre's *Nekrassov* is to conclude that political communication on the level of truth is impossible. Individual and collective egocentrisms, the existentialist seems to say, make such utterance end, as it begins, in fraud. Though not subject to the Frenchman's despair, L. P. Hartley presents in *The Hireling* an analogous problem with a comparable result: according to his demonstration, communication of self, depending as it does on the heart's principles which are voiceless, is almost invariably doomed to failure.

Leadbitter of Leadbitter's Garages Ltd., Cars for All Occasions—he is the hireling—is inarticulate for various reasons. By nature pugnacious, by inclination a distrustful bachelor (Mr. Hartley has a penchant for bachelors, being one himself), by circumstance an ex-NCO whose pride drives him to make good as a civilian, Leadbitter has created a thick shell for himself. Within it he functions reasonably well—which means that he is touchy about his honor even as he is respectful to those who hire him, and that he works day and night to keep himself and maintain the car that he has bought on the usually ruinous installment plan.

Unlike him fundamentally but no less hemmed in by inability to communicate is Lady Franklin. A soft creature, she has not been hardened by a marriage above her station. On the contrary: it has accentuated her softness. She develops a neurosis of guilt when her husband dies during her absence at a party. Declining into a suttee-ish existence, she lives only for her memories of the dead man.

The theme of being "the prisoner of

MAX COSMAN has written articles and reviews for Colorado Quarterly, Arizona Quarterly, Commonweal *and other magazines.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

oneself" is brilliantly explored by Mr. Hartley. Leadbitter, encased by the calculating life he leads, cannot understand Lady Franklin's naive efforts to free herself from her bonds. Her pressing him, on successive car-hires, for details of his private life, her generosity one time in helping him to pay off the debt on his car, seem to call for no more than an amatory return. When he learns better it is too late. His chance for a spiritual union has gone. Something important, however, has happened. In fabricating a family life for Lady Franklin's delectation, he has not only helped her to break out of her neurotic confinement, he has broken out of his own as well. In love now, he nevertheless cannot express his love. Barriers of class and training intervene. Soon there is the traditional complication of Lady Franklin's engagement to Hughie (the caddish role of this gentleman is very reminiscent of that played by Merton Densher in *The Wings of the Dove*).

THE pathos of non-communication is given two more expositions by Mr. Hartley. The more interesting one still has to do with Leadbitter. In rebound from his hopeless love for Lady Franklin, he seeks to make up with an old flame, Clarice. Try as he will, he cannot overcome the years of indifference that have passed between them. Nor can Clarice, when she wants to patch up things, do any better. The less interesting one concerns the last pair in the novel, Hughie and Constance. Deserving what they get, they nevertheless suffer, as the others do, from not being able to impart to each other that which is dearest in themselves.

Behind this thesis of the "undelivered message," there is another, a mitigatory one: love is the only force capable of pulling apart the carapaces in which we immure ourselves or are immured by others. Lady Franklin, bereft of those whom she has loved, is about to lapse into her neurosis. At the crucial moment she comes across the St. Christopher medallion Leadbitter had sent her before he killed himself. A symbol of his devotion, it has a mana which reassures her about living outside of husks.

The book ends on this note. Sentimental as it is, it is effective. Its emphasis on love as the great psychic mover is of course in the most venerable of traditions. Certainly it is in the tradition of Mr. Hartley's practice as writer. Examine representative works of his like the trilogy on Eustace and Hilda, *The Go-Between*, *The Perfect Woman*, and it is evident that love as an alterer of things figures insistently.

But a place in Mr. Hartley's novel panorama is not all that distinguishes *The Hireling*. Despite sentimentality and coincidence, it is an achievement in its own right. For in its truly human beings, put before us with quiet passion and professional literacy, it offers a satisfying counterweight to the esoteric, the overwrought and the untutored volumes which have been piling up this decade.

Questions To Be Answered

THE POWER OF BLACKNESS. By Harry Levin. Alfred A. Knopf. 263 pp. $4.

Louis O. Coxe

IN HIS preface to his book on Hawthorne, Poe and Melville, Mr. Levin frankly states that the volume "is the direct outgrowth of a series of public lectures." The avowal goes far to define the limitations as well as the virtues of the work. Addressed, it seems, to the ear rather than to the eye, it manages to isolate and to underscore the essential quality of each writer, and Mr. Levin does a real service in reminding us that these writers have roots in a European and a Romantic tradition, a point the Americanists would ignore or altogether repudiate. Although Mr. Levin makes all the proper allowances for Puritanism, Transcendentalism and other All-American fetishes, he does not allow the matter to rest there but by means of easy allusion to Pascal, Shakespeare, Balzac, Dostoevski and many others, strongly suggests that no amount of chauvinism or post-Parrington patriation will satisfy those of us who want books to read and not social documents of dubious reliability.

So much on the credit side—and it is rather more than would appear if the reader had been exposed to the work of departments of American Studies, on which the sun apparently never sets. Mr. Levin knows and likes literature, a literature without frontiers; but in this book he confronts certain inherent limitations of the lecture. For whom was the book written? For an audience, literally, I should say, inasmuch as I felt that there was a good deal of verbal dexterity of a sort pleasing to the ear and entertaining in a lecture hall, but sometimes irritating to the reader. I found that at certain points I wanted a definitive or revealing statement and was put off with a phrase—well-turned and suggestive but nonetheless inadequate for my purposes as a reader of a book of criticism. And my dissatisfaction was the more acute because Mr. Levin so often seems on the edge of a revealing, a synthesizing insight—but he does not, as far as I can tell, take the risk and plunge. I confess to a feeling of having been fobbed off with something less than the best of which the author is capable, of being given, ultimately, the answers which I might expect and might be expected to understand.

THE QUESTIONS raised by Mr. Levin and which I want answered remain: how "American" are these men? how Romantic? What exactly was Poe up to and is there anything there at all beside fustian and symbols for Baudelaire and the psychiatric critics? To what extent is the "romance" (as opposed to the "novel") an American predilection? to what extent European and modern? These questions, and many others, crop up and receive notice, yet none gets its due. How could it, in a series of lectures designed to take numbers of people on a guided tour of the ruins, so to say?

Still, might it not be fruitful, in what is after all *another book* on these men, to attempt to see them as fully in the round as anyone can? Surely the "voyage of discovery" is no patented literary device, developed by Americans or by Poe. Balloons, and science-fiction generally, have had a long history in literature; Peter Rugg, that American symbol of the displaced person, has counterparts in the work of such odd English post-Romantics as Beddoes, Le Fanu and Willkie Collins, not to mention Dickens; and the imagery of destruction can hardly be said to belong primarily to American literature. I wish Mr. Levin had developed these points; it is in no sense a ploy on my part, to try to dig up refutations. If Le Fanu, and Beddoes, for example, are relatively obscure, minor writers, why is Poe major and prominent? At one point Mr. Levin gives us a truly valuable insight with respect to this problem and its implications:

> There is doubtless something immature in Poe's exaggerated sensibility, his childlike readiness to be ter-

---

LOUIS O. COXE, professor of English at Bowdoin College, is the author of two volumes of verse and co-author of the play, Billy Budd.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rified by the dark or to view unfamiliar things in a sinister light. But the characteristic point of view in American fiction may well be that of a boy, an adolescent initiated to manhood by the impact of his adventures, such as the heroes of Melville and Mark Twain, of Stephen Crane's *Red Badge of Courage*, William Faulkner's "Bear," and the stories of Ernest Hemingway. And it may not be sufficiently appreciated that all of these have their archetypal predecessor in Poe's single work of book-length, *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*.

That is the sort of thing I believe readers of this sort of book want to find and to see unfold and develop.

THE controlling theme, the dominating image, is that of blackness, darkness, of the obsession with evil. The jacket-blurb (and I think Mr. Levin would be the first to regret it) tells us that this "profound and searching reinterpretation . . . is also an experiment in critical method, an exploration of the myth-making process by way of what may come to be known as literary iconology." Let us by all means hope that it never does come to that. In the present instance, Mr. Levin has had the sense and judgment not to pursue symbols too far or too hard; the method is descriptive and eminently sane. What he tells us to look at is *there*, and I had no quarrel with what Mr. Levin found nor in his description of it. At times the "dark wisdom" of the minds Mr. Levin here examines may strike us as something less than awe-inspiring, the "symbolic character of our greatest fiction" seem less a virtue than an obsessive vice; but that may be my own reaction and Mr. Levin does not insist that all three men are equally "great"—nor necessarily of the highest rank in literature. The final point, that of the increasing rapprochement of American and English or European literature, considered thematically, comes satisfyingly out of Mr. Levin's careful establishment of the preoccupation with death, evil and decay as a dominating concern of the three writers. If there is nothing new here, there is nothing false, prejudiced or narrow; one feels a good sane air moving about. Now I would like from Mr. Levin a further exploration of what is adumbrated here—a full-scale study of the matter that *The Power of Blackness* has shown to us, as it were, at arm's length.

Confusion of Principles

THE AMERICAN CAUSE. By Russell Kirk. Henry Regnery Co. 172 pp. $3.50.

David Spitz

WHEN the first American Congress authorized the mint at Philadelphia to coin and issue a penny piece, it saw to it that the inscription bore an appropriate motto: Mind Your Business. This motto—generally attributed to Benjamin Franklin—was also employed on the first American dollars. But the wisdom of our ancestors was understandably (if regrettably) disregarded in the turmoil of the Civil War, and one Reverend Watkins had little difficulty in persuading Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase to invoke the aid of the deity by inscribing on our coins the present motto: In God We Trust. This public reaffirmation of faith, as everyone knows, is now going on at an accelerated pace—witness President Eisenhower's incorporation of the religious motto into our traditionally secular pledge of allegiance.

I mention this odd bit of Americana to illustrate what I would have thought is a quite obvious point: namely, that those who appeal both to tradition and to God are sometimes engaged in a schizophrenic enterprise. But a reading of Russell Kirk's latest book, *The American Cause*, reveals that there are still some who think that an appeal to the one is also an appeal to the other, and who invoke the guidance of our ancestors on a highly selective and arbitrary basis.

Kirk is, in fact, much less of a traditionalist than he is a believer in God. He *uses* tradition but does not respect it. This is why, despite his seeming genuflections to the past, he ignores those elements in it that do not advance his argument. He quotes approvingly that crusty old aristocrat, John Adams; he does not mention Paine or Parker or Thoreau; and when he cites Jefferson it is primarily to explain him away—to argue, or at least to assert, that Jefferson did not mean what people have taken him to mean when he denied that the United States is a Christian nation and affirmed that all men are created equal. What Kirk really reveres is the "divine intelligence," though it is not altogether clear whether this intelligence is to be found in God or in Kirk's hero, Edmund Burke; and since, as Kirk believes, the United States *is* a Christian nation, he is concerned to spell out those beliefs "which are at the heart of the American cause"—the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood and dignity of man.

NOW Christians and some others can no doubt subscribe to these beliefs without agreeing as well to the particular moral, political and economic principles that Kirk derives from them. For these principles—once we get away, as Kirk cannot, from God the stern judge but loving Father and the sins of His tormented servants—show Kirk to be not merely a man divided but a man who is tragically uninformed.

It is unfair, I suppose, to compare

DAVID SPITZ is professor of political science at Ohio State University and the author of Patterns of Anti-Democratic Thought.

Six Picassos

I
The mother is a pair of wings
that wish around the child
II
Circling the puzzled boy with fleshless arms
the old man starves and dreams
III
The naked ones embrace and thrust their darkness
into each other's kindled nerves
IV
An antique woman sits
and stares at God
V
A vitreous girl regards herself
in mirrors and time sings
VI
A dove of light
is written in the air

DILYS LAING

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A novel of extraordinary beauty and suspense

In the lush African jungle—as an outlaw native pursues an unknown white man and a killer leopard implacably stalks the black man—a story of tremendous tension and mystery unfolds. And by some magic of his pen, the author unfolds as well the strange and tangled relationships of a troubled land. By the highly gifted author of *New Day*. $3.00

THE LEOPARD

A novel
by VICTOR STAFFORD REID

"A remarkable book...."

"I think this boy may well be a very important writer."
—JOHN STEINBECK
"Would do credit to a fine novelist at the peak of his powers. Dennis Murphy writes with the freshness, force, and apparent ease that mark any fiction that carries authority."—MARK SCHORER $3.50

THE SERGEANT

A novel
by DENNIS MURPHY

"A fine idea, brilliantly carried out."
—Publishers' Weekly

"The best series of interviews with writers of our time that I have read in English.... They should appeal not merely to the bookish, but to any general reader interested, however mildly, in the literature of his time.... A book of unusual interest."
—CLIFTON FADIMAN, *Book-of-the-Month Club News*
Illustrated with facsimiles from original mss. $5.00

WRITERS AT WORK

The *Paris Review* Interviews
Edited, with an introduction
by MALCOLM COWLEY

"A really first-rate novel..."

"Exciting, thoughtful, and beautifully written."
—F. W. DUPEE, *Prof. of Literature, Columbia University*
A classic twentieth-century novel of violence, despair, and finally the fulfillment of love in which the reader becomes a spellbound witness to the haunting story of Mary Ann. $3.00

MARY ANN

A novel
by ALEX KARMEL

A timely analysis of longevity

In this stimulating and pertinent study of the social and economic problems resulting from our lengthening life span, Dr. Soule dramatically shows how our attitude toward age is wasting manpower. He offers practical plans for revising our employment practices in order to salvage the abilities of older, and often wiser, persons. $3.00

LONGER LIFE

by GEORGE SOULE

"The humor of his books is enough to enchant."
—GRAHAM GREENE

Mr. Narayan's previous novels have won him not only a devoted band of readers but also critical comparisons to Chekhov, Gogol, and Joyce Cary. In his new novel about Raju, delightful Indian guide and reluctant holy man, he tells his most beguiling tale. $3.50

THE GUIDE

A novel
by R. K. NARAYAN

At all booksellers

Now back in print—
TWILIGHT IN ITALY
by D. H. LAWRENCE $3.50

VIKING

625 MADISON AVE., NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The American Cause to Kirk's earlier books, for in these, as a true (i.e., Kirkean) conservative, he was a critic of America, a Jeremiah wailing at the wall; and now he is a defender of the American faith. But the man beneath the armor cannot always conceal his true identity, and what the defender affirms the conservative often denies. The result is a potpourri in which conservative doctrines and American beliefs and practices dwell discordantly together.

This contradiction apart, what are the principles that Kirk believes define the American cause—not, let it be emphasized, from the standpoint of a conservative ethic but as these principles are applied in American life?

Morally, Kirk begins, they are the trinity of natural laws, natural rights, and natural duties; though "precisely what these rights are," Kirk admits, "never has been entirely agreed upon, even among professed Christians." Further, they embrace toleration of, but not indifference to, religion, which means that as a Christian nation we properly restrain immoral (i.e., unchristian) conduct; and if we do not restrain *all* immoral acts it is simply because no political authority can possibly do so. We are, if anything, a prudent people.

Politically, our three great concepts are justice, by which Kirk means not equality but assuring to each man the things that are his own (whether inherited or acquired); order, by which he means a graded arrangement of classes ruled by a natural aristocracy; and freedom, by which he means not the absence of restraints but "a disciplined, traditional, moderate, law-respecting freedom . . . obedience to the laws of God."

Finally, the American economic system is a free economy based on competition — "human beings are content only when they are struggling against obstacles" — tempered by charity. In fact, because we have "very widely and equitably distributed" our wealth, because we now have millions of "capitalists" and no depressed classes, it is possible, Kirk muses, that our real problem is to reward better than we do the upper classes.

I leave for the delectation of the reader two chapters that must be read to be believed. In one (Chap. 6), the American political system is described in terms that put it beyond all recognition. In the other (Chap. 9), the Communist claims are disposed of as the product of ignorance and sin, envy and the lust for power; and what attention is given to Communist doctrine is focused on as absurd a presentation of the canons of communism as this reviewer has ever read (see pp. 138-39).

HOW shall we explain this book? Clearly, on the basis of some of his earlier writings, Kirk is too sensitive a person not to be aware of some at least of his flagrant distortions: repeatedly, for example, he resorts in *The American Cause* to a double standard of judgment, condemning the Communists whenever their practices depart from their professions but justifying the Americans whenever they do the same on the ground that such inconsistencies are merely the normal differences between imperfect man and ideal society. What accounts for this performance, I suspect, is that Kirk is here trying to rally Americans, particularly the military — "it is a compliment to an American soldier to ask him to die for the ashes of his fathers and the temples of his God" — to the support of a cause in which he does not altogether believe.

For this reviewer, however, precisely because the American cause is in its commitment to democracy a noble cause, it merits a noble defense; and this can be achieved only by one who sees that cause for what it is, and who can condemn those who attack it both from within and from without.

The Mill of Death

(from the French of Ivan Goll)

Under the plaster cast of my presence
O my death stretches itself out in me,
Under my viviparous sleep—
Already eternally mine—
O my irremediable bride.

Beautiful miller you work
In the mill of my slow hours
You grind my bones
You grind my words
Beneath your lying evidence.

The rose trees of my frenzy
The eyelids of my delirium
In the wind of wind,
My tellurian, go, split them
Into pure foam and pure ruin.

The moth of my nostrils
Throbs with pain always in its wings
Where my gold eyes are incrusted
Someone has taken my dream for himself
With the last throb.

Everything will turn white
When the double faced angels come
Who are guilty of innocence
And the sudden aging of the anemones
Of the idea of my first rose.

The fire turns white and the water
The cedar turns white its antlers of carbon
On the negative of death
O my white blood
Which ends in a broth of ashes.
Ah you come to undress me
To take off my weeping matter
What eye of the living may still
Rest on a rose
Without withering it?
In spite of its four doors
My heart will not open any more
O money box of my heart
Where I stored up a God.
Mill, grind the water of nothing.

KENNETH REXROTH

LETTER from NEW ORLEANS

Stanley Meisler

THE FIRST Inter-American Music Festival opens April 18 in Washington. The festival originally had been scheduled for April of last year, and New Orleans, which aspires to be the modern hub of the Americas, was the site chosen. The selection aimed to blend the old musical tradition of the city with the more recent Latin American hue that has covered the port commercially. But several months before the scheduled opening, with almost all commissioned music completed, officials mysteriously called everything off. And the music has marked time for a year.

In calling off the event, the authorities concerned mumbled an odd excuse: the postponement was due to a delay in construction of an outdoor concert stage near the shores of Lake Pontchartrain. This was the first inkling most New Orleanians had that anyone ever contemplated building such a stage, and since then there has not been another scrap of information about it. Last December 8, *The New York Times*, while discussing the upcoming event in Washington, offered a more logical excuse: the festival was postponed last year so that it would not conflict with the program of the Institucion Jose Angel Lamas in Caracas and the Casals Festival in Puerto Rico. But this, while justifying a change of time, does not ex-

STANLEY MEISLER, a wire-service newsman, recently transferred from New Orleans to Washington.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

plain the change of place. Both the initial announcement and the *Times* interpretation were too polite to hit the mark. New Orleans did not have a music festival last year because its businessmen, who have spent quantities of money and energy in the last fifteen years to attract Latin American trade, did not feel like wasting either to attract Latin American culture.

THE roots of the difficulty stretch to the nineteenth century, when New Orleans was the center of French Opera in the United States. Today its opera company, which presents no more than twelve performances a year, wiggles on and off its deathbed, and the city's improving symphony orchestra is not of the first rank. This decline in culture had accompanied a decline in power during the last one hundred years. After the Civil War, and the resulting weakening of the cotton economy, New Orleans, the only major Confederate city occupied by Union troops for a long war period, lost its place of importance among American seaports. From then until World War II, the city had three industries—food, Mardi Gras and jazz.

But during World War II, New Orleans trade leaped in awesome bounds, and the city flourished economically. After the war, businessmen shuddered to think that the trade would whisk back to New York. Some imaginative men formed International House to hold on to the foreign business and, with the help of an energetic and peripatetic mayor, young deLesseps Morrison, succeeded so well that port activity not only failed to decline after the war, it tripled within six years.

International House found the key to New Orleans trade in geography and turned the city toward Latin America. Today three-quarters of New Orleans' imports come from Latin America. The new partnership has been happy, for Latins like New Orleans: the climate is hot and humid, the architecture is Spanish, the residents are Roman Catholic, the streets are lined with palms.

With this background it seemed fitting for the Pan American Union and International House to push New Orleans as the site of the first music festival. The staff of International House knew that if New Orleans was to find a vitality reminiscent of the early nineteenth century, it would have to be linked culturally as well as economically with Latin America. This was made clear, in fact, when the State Department sent the New Orleans Symphony two years ago on a tour of Central and South America, giving the orchestra the only national notice it ever has received.

But this idea of attracting Latin culture was hard to sell to New Orleans businessmen. The typical fellow could not see any immediate dollars-and-cents value in serious Latin music. It was hard for him to peek into the future and visualize the economic benefits that would come if Latins some day felt that New Orleans was their city, the only place in the United States to talk about, to visit, to buy a hat. And, if he did understand the lasting importance of culture, he had a tough time associating it with Latin America. The New Orleanian has been trained to feel that the only true culture of his city is French, even though any vital Gallic influence has long disappeared. International House could not convince its members —the businessmen of the city—to put up the money for the festival or to spend time organizing the program.

THE EXCITING display of largely unfamiliar music now will stimulate Washington, instead of New Orleans, for three days. New Orleans has lost seven world premieres: the piano concerto of Argentina's Roberto Caamano; an orchestral suite, "New England Episodes," by Quincy Porter of this country; a quartet by Juan Orrego Salas of Chile; another quartet by Alberto Ginastera of Argentina; "Music for Little Orchestra" by

High praise for EDMUND WILSON's latest book

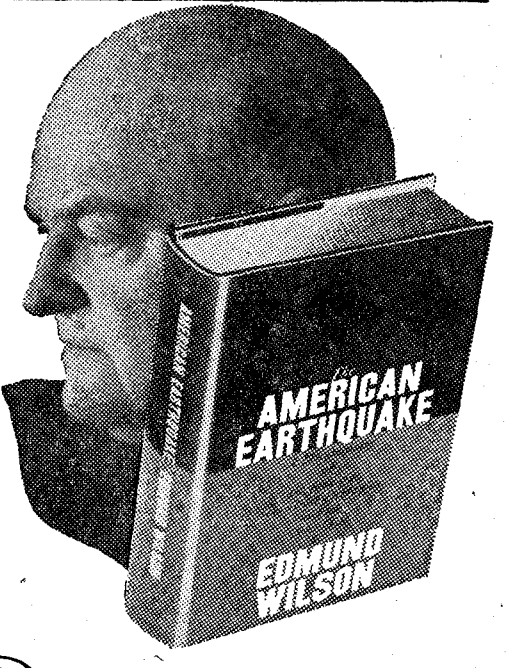
THE AMERICAN EARTHQUAKE

A documentary of the American social and political scene during the Jazz Age, the Depression, and the New Deal

"A valuable and wonderfully entertaining book . . . Mr. Wilson is an able investigator of vulgarity and silliness as well as of more substantial things. The writing is incisive, without a sign of age." — LEON WILSON, *Book-of-the-Month News*

"The enormous range and zest displayed . . . make most of our younger critics today seem constricted, timid and almost prissy. Which of them could conceivably have written THE AMERICAN EARTHQUAKE?"—ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR., *New York Times Book Review*

"A powerful and, in some respects, a beautiful book . . . Because he was always a shrewd and accurate observer, and because his experience in this period was wide-ranging, his picture is vivid and astonishingly comprehensive."—GERALD W. JOHNSON, *New York Herald Tribune Book Review*



576 Pages, Cloth Bound, $6.00

The following books by Edmund Wilson are also available as paper-bound Anchor Books:

TO THE FINLAND STATION $1.25
A LITERARY CHRONICLE: 1920—1950 $1.25
EIGHT ESSAYS 85¢

A D B

At all booksellers

DOUBLEDAY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Jose Adrevol of Cuba; "Choro for Clarinet and Orchestra" by M. Camargo Guarnieri of Brazil; and, perhaps the most anticipated, the twelfth symphony of Brazil's Heitor Villa-Lobos.

In addition, there will be performances, some for the first time in the United States, of music by Antonio Estevez of Venezuela, Roque Cordero of Panama, Juan Jose Castro of Argentina, Blas Galindo of Mexico, Aurelio de la Vega of Cuba, Violet Archer of Canada, Luis Sandi of Mexico, Rodolfo Hallffter of Mexico, Hector Tosar of Uruguay and Gustavo Becerra of Chile.

The Inter-American Music Center of the Pan American Union, credited as the festival organizer, has lined up the National Symphony Orchestra of Washington, the National Symphony of Mexico, the Juilliard String Quartet, the Claremont String Quartet and the Howard University Choir to perform.

No doubt the music center will be satisfied both by the performances and the reception of Washington audiences. But a regret will linger over the festival. There would have been a touch of the exotic in spotlighting the festival in the warm, Latin-like Southern city that claims to try so hard to reach the heart of the Americas. As it is, the festival lost its perfect setting; New Orleans lost a perfect chance.

TELEVISION

Anne W. Langman

ON April 15, the television industry will present itself with twenty-five gilded statuettes—the Emmy awards. So glittering will be the parade of those who give and those who receive on the ninety-minute coast-to-coast telecast that dazzled viewers are not likely to ask whether the Emmies mean anything. However, the more cynical may suspect that the honors being dispensed fall short of the dignity of a Nobel or Pulitzer prize.

The Academy of Television Arts and Sciences gives the Emmy awards and promotes them as the top distinction of the business. Nevertheless, this paperweight competes in a large field. Hungry for recognition, television has allowed itself to be showered annually with hundreds of awards, and the pattern of the Emmies is no better (and not much worse) than any of the others. In literature, drama, art and music, a handful of awards suffices. Why, then, this profusion in the least formed art of television?

Giving TV awards brings high rewards—to the donor. For an investment of ten to twenty thousand dollars, he gets hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of free publicity. Sometimes an entire program is devoted to distributing awards (Perry Como, for example, spent his full show on the *Look* awards recently); or the payoff may be in the form of a battery of free plugs ("We are happy to announce . . ."). And it is the very best kind of promotion. Commercial outfits tie the tail of salesmanship to a high-purpose kite; thus they sail far above the jungle of commercialism, but nonetheless promote their product. Who can fail to honor the Sylvania Company for sponsoring awards for "distinguished achievement in creative television"? TV awards are also a convenient device for foundations and do-good organizations. Thus they advance their causes without doing anything original, and achieve status by association with success.

Awards are generally given for "the best," "the most outstanding," "the most distinguished" programs or people in a number of categories. The most popular methods of making these choices—each advertised by those who use it as the most equitable and objective—are the poll system and the jury system. The jury system depends on who's on the jury, and the material presented to it for consideration. The Peabody and Sherwood awards use it with considerable success, although it is hard to understand why the erudite Peabody jury gave an award to Lassie—who accepted it in person! The poll system, bristling with protective devices such as sealed blanks and accounting firms to tabulate results, purports to represent public opinion as reflected by TV editors and columnists. Not long ago, columnist John Crosby made it clear that he files such requests in the wastebasket.

THE Emmy awards are unique in that they depend on votes from the industry itself, modeled after the movie Oscars. But something is terribly wrong with the Emmies. Why, for example, was a program which received cheers and acclaim from every corner of the country, not even nominated? Barring a sudden and unexpected switch, Marian Anderson's *Lady from Philadelphia* will not win an Emmy award. This is a glaring omission, and it could happen to anybody.

It is the very basis of the Emmies that fails the industry, and fools the public. The selection operates through an elaborate series of entry forms, can-

Jack and the Other Jack

Jack told himself the world was pure as soap,
The kind that floats. He traveled little, went
From home to work to home, so that his scope
Would not include corruption or dissent.

He drank no coffee, but he couldn't sleep.
Although he knelt beside his bed and prayed,
He prayed to names. His rabbit pulse would leap
To see a drunken man. He was afraid.

Then in his room it stood, face much like his,
But changed throughout, the lips and nose more wide,
A large, permanent smile whose messages
Attacked his ear with grossness. Terrified,

He waited for a metamorphosis.
The loosened body, filled with appetite,
He thought would slough all memory but this
Adjunct of novelty and bad delight.
He found himself mistaken, for in time
The long way home became his self-command;
He learned that wanting things was not a crime,
Nor was it devilish to understand.

Now unified within their father's son,
Two Jacks combine their mutual desire,
And talk each night about what they have done
And not done, and continue to conspire.

DONALD HALL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

didates for nominations, elections and tabulations. All this starts with the producer, who must have the time, energy and desire to nominate his own show. To get on the list, he must put himself there. Anyone with a normal amount of modesty might hesitate to ask to be thus praised. Another flaw is that while the winners are said to represent the opinion of the industry, votes are cast only by academy members, numbering 3,000. This is a tiny percentage of the army of TV professionals in New York and Los Angeles who are eligible to join.

NETWORKS, producers and performers alike, in fearful competition for publicity and recognition however meaningless, have been willing partners in the award game. They must constantly submit programs for awards. NBC has two full-time people preparing presentations. CBS divides the responsibility among several departments. Caught without entry material, networks have been known to construct a show to fit the bill. Winners must submit to hours of dais-sitting and speech-making at award lunches, dinners and telecasts. The collected talent tied up in a year of award ceremonies could produce hundreds of hours of top-quality TV.

Some of the awards—the Robert E. Sherwood, Ohio State and a few others—are good. Some are open to criticism of taste and judgment, others are inanities. But all are rendered meaningless by their profusion. There is hardly a show on the air that has not won at least a couple of plaques, scrolls or medals, hardly a producer who cannot point with pride to a framed testimony of his excellence. And the obliging viewer continues to be a gullible target for the multi-award winning label, sported in every corner of the publicity market.

A prominent network producer, whose program has won almost every available award—numbering in the hundreds over the years—has come up with a solution. "The three networks," he says, "could agree to recognize a set of annual awards and only one set. They could each put up ten thousand dollars a year, if necessary, to sustain an unbiased committee of judges to make the awards. The judges should be professionals, and the only professionals in the field *not* employed by broadcasting are the critics. The networks could designate a selected list of TV and radio critics who would function with complete autonomy and make known their deliberations once a year. The networks would alternate in televizing the awards, and it would be the only award they recognize or broadcast."

The author of this suggestion remains anonymous, guessing that the only result of a personal crusade would be to remove his program from further award consideration. Three other top network producers were delighted with the suggestion, but none is willing to say so in public.

Still, it is an encouraging sign that the first rumblings of discontent with the mass of TV awards should come from high places in the industry. The proposed solution seems sound. Surely astute viewers would applaud if awarders and awardees put their time and attention to making better TV shows instead of giving and getting awards for mediocrity.

MUSIC

Lester Trimble

VERDI'S *Otello*, which returned to the stage of the Metropolitan Opera for several performances this season, is considered by many admirers of Italian opera to be that composer's *magnum opus*. I am not convinced that it quite merits that distinction, for it seems to me that other of his works contain passages of music more intensely inspired than those in *Otello* and, in some cases, scores more precisely suited in coloration to their dramatic subjects. But, whatever its place in a comparative scale, *Otello* is an immensely potent work—even a monument—and its production at the Metropolitan, while scenically poor and certainly not perfect in every detail, was nevertheless compelling.

The two keystones to a performance of this opera are the characters of Otello, here sung by Mario Del Monaco, and that of Iago, which was carried by Leonard Warren. Desdemona, sung by Zinka Milanov, is necessarily a more passive character, and the others — Emilia (Martha Lipton), Cassio (Paul Franke), Roderigo (Charles Anthony), Lodovico (Norman Scott), and Montano (Osie Hawkins), are distinctly minor. But more important than any matter of positioning in the plot, on this occasion, was the fact that Del Monaco invested his impersonation with a higher degree of histrionic subtlety than did the other players, and sang with an intensity of passion that was quite remarkable. He did not produce, at every point, the most graciously modulated tone in the world, but he produced a lot of it, and every note pulsated with conviction and a craggy rightness of style.

Del Monaco's usual stage behavior suggests repressed fury, and for the role of Otello, nothing could be more appropriate. Throughout three acts, he must grow progressively more distraught, revealing this to the audience, and yet restricting himself to only a few overtly destructive gestures toward Desdemona and one collapse through an excess of passion. Del Monaco managed this so well that even as he sat quietly in a chair his splendidly costumed figure emanated a feeling of mounting virulence. The Moor he created was a refined one, with overtones of civilized wiriness rather than of any heavy-handedness or primitivism. It was not

Free to WRITERS
seeking a book publisher
Two fact-filled, illustrated brochures tell how to publish your book, get 40% royalties, national advertising, publicity and promotion. Free editorial appraisal. Write Dept. NA-4
Exposition Press / 386 4th Ave., N.Y. 16

FREE TO SUBSCRIBERS — 50 PAGE **GIANT CATALOG**
4000 BOOKS AVAILABLE BY **MAIL**

PAPERBACK NEWS & REVIEW
The magazine that helps you keep up with the 60 to 100 exciting paperbound books (25c to $1.95—ALL PUBLISHERS) that are published monthly. PHOTOS of all the covers! News of BEST SELLERS coming in paperback! Books available by mail. No obligations whatsoever.

BEST SELLERS you can order with your trial subscription
☐ PEYTON PLACE 50c
☐ COMPULSION 75c
☐ ANDERSONVILLE 75c
☐ THE BRIDGE AT ANDAU 35c
☐ MODERN SEX LIFE 35c
☐ DON'T GO NEAR THE WATER 50c
☐ PROFILES IN COURAGE 35c
☐ THE STRANGER — Camus ... 95c
Minimum Book Order — $1.00
Add 5c per book for handling

PAPERBACK BOOK NEWS
210 East 39th St. N. Y. 16, N. Y.
☐ I enclose $1.00 for 3 ISSUES and FREE CATALOG
☐ Enclosed is $..... extra for books checked above

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the only possible Moor, but it was precise, convincing and all of a piece, whether one considered it with the eyes, the ears, or the mind.

Leonard Warren's Iago was less impressive. He is a remarkable singer, and a polished musician as well. He is, as we all know, a mainstay of the Metropolitan's baritone roster. But whether singing the elder Germont in *La Traviata* or Verdi's Iago, he is always Leonard Warren. He carves lines of melody with the suavity of a 'cellist; he invariably sings on pitch; he communicates all abstract musical values. He does not, however, let loose any furies, for his essence is dignity, and furies are seldom dignified. As a result, Warren's Iago tends to be more of a musicianly reading of the baritone part than an incarnation of evil. Even in the second scene of Act II, wherein he describes the sources and nature of Iago's evil and utters what undoubtedly was meant by Verdi to be heard as blasphemy, an overriding urbanity rounds the devilish sentiments and turns them into polished mahogany. I believe, too, that his costume in this opera was unfortunate. For Mr. Warren draws his wonderful baritone from a midriff of a certain amplitude, and the clothes he was called upon to wear as Iago did nothing to fortify Verdi's original conception of the character as one who was "tall and thin . . . nonchalant and superficial." Nor did the wide rounding of the eyes with which Mr. Warren tries to frighten his audiences really look more than googly.

Zinka Milanov, who had never before sung the role of Desdemona at the Metropolitan, naturally made all who admire her abilities curious to know what she would do with it. I must say, right off, that acting does not figure among the distinguished abilities. The critic, Virgil Thomson, out of his inimitable faculty for putting a finger on the right word, once wrote that opera singers "lurch." Miss Milanov, though she sang magnificently, lurched through the role of Desdemona. For the most part, her lurch was gentler than the one she applies to other characterizations. But at one point, when she was lying in a semi-horizontal position upon a tier of three steps, she achieved such a successful effect of this sort (no small feat when one is lying down) that several resounding thumps from the orchestra seemed to have been caused by the impact of her avoirdupois upon the steps. That is carrying theatrical innocence too far. Desdemona is not a humorous character. She is young, naive and set-upon—there is nothing amusing in her plight, and even in the absence of positive acting abilities in her impersonator, there should be nothing laughable in her behavior. Miss Milanov sang like a *diva*, but I wish she would learn a seemly stage deportment, even if she does not act. I also wish that the Metropolitan's *Otello* could have some new sets and a bit more pointed direction than Fausto Cleva gave it from the pit.

SERVICES

UNIVERSITY TELEVISION SERVICE
(Manhattan, Bronx Yonkers)
150 W. Kingsbridge Rd., Bronx 63, N.Y.
CY 8-0420

PERSONALS

ENGLISH BICYCLE—w/3 speed Sturmey-Archer gears, hand brakes, pump & tourist bag. **SPEC. $39.95.** Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Ave. (13th & 14th Sts.), N.Y. GR 3-7819. **1 hour free parking.**

BRITISH SHOES FOR GENTLEMEN at a fraction of their American retail price! $10.95 includes duty and import charges. Delivery in ten days from receipt of order. Unconditional money-back guarantee. Write for free illustrated catalogue. **Steven N. Williams, Ltd., 40 Chatham Road, Short Hills, New Jersey.**

Advertising Rates
CLASSIFIED
74c a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum
CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch (minimum)
The NATION
333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N.Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

ART

Maurice Grosser

MORE THAN a hundred ceramics by Picasso are on display through May 10 at the Cooper Union Museum. It is the largest group yet to be seen in New York—vases, decorative plaques, bowls and pitchers, by the liveliest painter of our time.

The majority of the pieces shown are unique examples, modeled or designed by Picasso himself and glazed and decorated by his hand. Others, stamped *Empreinte Originale de Picasso* and existing in some hundred copies, are pressings in unglazed white biscuit or red clay from molds made by the painter. A few, marked *Edition Picasso,* are factory copies or interpretations of Picasso originals and, as far as I can see, in no way inferior. These pressings and editions, made at the Poterie Madura in Vallauris under Picasso's supervision, are popular with collectors. Their price, in France at any rate, cannot be prohibitive.

The work is cheerful and witty. The shapes vary from parodies of standard ceramic models to the most bizarre improvisations. The surface ornamentation is done with an easy, flowing hand and unfailing invention. There are vases adorned with nude model and her bearded painter, plates with faces and street scenes, a pitcher in the form of a fighting cock, the lines of its decoration forming at the same time the bird's plumage and a grotesque mask, a pitcher in the shape of a pigeon with its tail in air, another like a duck clasped by two hands. There are bulls and bull fighting, classical figures, goats, owls and flowers, and many fish. The pieces are all handsome and reassuringly unfunctional; it might be difficult to eat from some of the plates or lift some of the pitchers. They are designed as art objects, made to fit contemporary decoration.

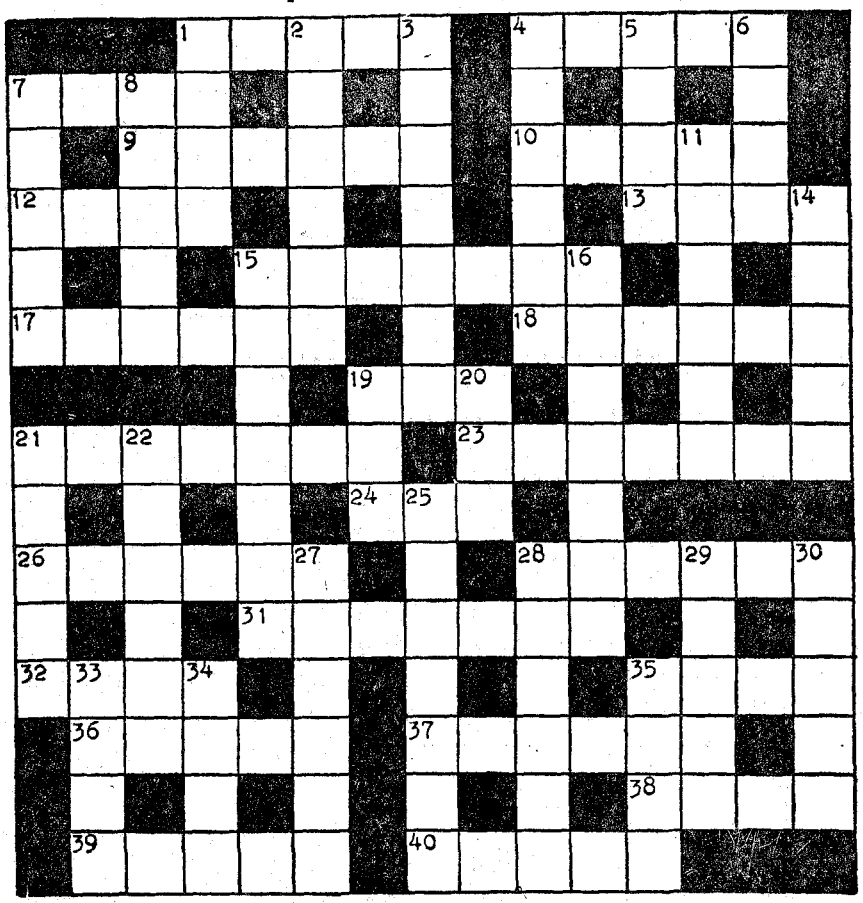
IN THIS country two styles of interior decoration are ordinarily available—modern and period. The one imitates the functional efficiency and shiny neatness of new machinery. The other uses antiques to evoke the past or aims at a harmony composed of disparate styles. There also exists a third style of decoration—called in France *le style auberge*—the style of the country inn. It uses country materials; provincial or peasant furniture, dark woodwork and plaster walls, pewter pots, regional earthware, handwoven rugs and hangings, and in its more popular versions, red-checked tablecloths and cart wheels made into chandeliers. A version of it was prevalent here some forty years ago under the name of "mission," and still exists in a more elaborate form in Frank Lloyd Wright interiors, and in seemingly endless variations in the do-it-yourself designs of the household magazines.

It is in this peasant style of decoration that the ceramics of Picasso, unlike his paintings, are so beautifully at home. They have not the delicacy of design and elaboration of drawing we are accustomed to find in a period piece, and nothing of the machine-like asepsis and humorless severity of the modern style. Part of the work's charm is that it is, technically speaking, crude. Picasso is not willingly expert in the troublesome chemistry of clay and glazes. As he himself says: "I do not search; I find." But the lovely good humor and impish vitality of the pieces make them appear less like work of the grand old man of painting than like the playful and charming creations of some prodigious child.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 767

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 and 4 Decks to shuffle on a mule, perhaps. (4, 6)
9 The Mikado recommended such a cloth for billiard sharps. (6)
10 and 12 Sue makes literary effort in a pretty small way. (9)
13 The hot type aren't necessarily found in piles. (4)
15 and 23 Yellow wall-covering, also the hot type! (7, 7)
17 Displayed in the tragedy of Father Thomas? (6)
18 To make a mistake with a childless 11 is just like some knights! (6)
19 Just the girl for a man who might 10-12. (3)
21 All slicked up, like in acquisitiveness. (7)
26 A visible sign of an idea. (6)
28 Being, as an illustration, runged.
31 A knight was supposed to have this wrong. (7)
32 Did he try to turn Rome to 36? (4)
35 He goes to either side from the middle. (4)
36 She's a relic of an old flame, perhaps. (5)
37 and 7 across Curio or pet found in the West Indies. (6, 4)
38 Redskins have no help in return for lodgings. (4)
39 Bar crowd (but they should be in school!) (5)
40 At the spring, according to Pippa.

DOWN:

1 Upon every Southern table you'll find it! (4)
2 Feather-like arm (likely to be held high?) (6)
3 A rather rocky descent could still be pleasant! (7)
4 What makes a snake bite? (I hope so!) (6)
5 Opening act, alternatively. (4)
7 Does the horse come up to check the tally? (5)
8 and 24 across With a bad appendix, one doesn't tell the doctor to quit clowning! (3, 2, 3)
11 Sounding obviously not an adult worker! (6)
14 Compared with Hyperion, a demigod. (5)
16 Envisaged something made red. (7)
19 A note of trouble here. (3)
20 It's a small point, but appropriate.
21, 6 and 15 down Othello's bugbear? (5-4, 7)
22 Eventually they died and become 36. (6)
25 Certainly not like Wordsworth's warrior. (7)
27 This book sounds like a famous explorer. (6)
28 Such kinds are not quite common.
29 Not down, and yet not up to it, but Nuclear Research takes place here.
30 Refuse to be it. (5)
33 The part of 40 that sometimes stand out. (4)
34 State of emptiness about a cheery greeting? (4)
35 Did a revolutionary statesman make it so? (4)

MEETINGS

A Distinguished Event in the History of Progressive Though in Chicago!! **Here from ENGLAND** to speak:

G. D. H. COLE
Prof., Social & Political Theory, Oxford University
President Int'l Socialist Society

"BRITISH LABOR ON EVE OF POWER"
● **Implications for America, World Peace & Socialism**
FRIDAY, APRIL 18, 8 P.M.
Roosevelt University, 430 S. Michigan Blvd.
Chairman: Prof. Kermit Eby
Sinha Hall — 7th Floor
Contribution, 90c Students, 50c
Sponsors: American Forum for Social Education and Eugene V. Debs Forum

AMERICAN SOCIALISM
A Re-examination of The Past
A SYMPOSIUM BY
Herman Benson, Julius Falk, and J. Jacobi
Friday, April 11, 8:30 PM
LABOR ACTION HALL
114 West 14 Street, New York

New York Readers . . . see
THE SPANISH EARTH
Spanish Civil War Classic
hear: **General Jose Asensio**
at: **MACHINISTS HALL, 7 East 15th St.**
Saturday, April 12, at 8 p.m.
Admission: 75c
Auspices: YPSL, 303 Fourth Ave., N.Y. 10

RESORTS

ONLY 50 MILES FROM N.Y.C.
Entertainment. Dancing. Fireproof bldg. Air-conditioned. Elevator. 8 mile Lake. Superb cuisine. In New York City call at local rate:
FAirbanks 5-7227
MAhopac 8-3449
FOREST house
LAKE MAHOPAC, N. Y.

LAKE LOUANNE, ideal spot for rest and relaxation. 200 acres woodland, rustic trails, private lake, boating, swimming, fishing. Large rooms, each with private bath. Small group, informal, friendly service. **Louis Cudroff, Old Clinton Road, Westbrook, Conn. Phone: MOntrose 9-2465.**

"Where all men are brothers"
WINGDALE ON-THE-LAKE
Wingdale 47, N. Y.
SPRING SPECIAL
WEEKENDS $15 ● WEEKLY $40
SPEND SUNDAY in the COUNTRY
Steak Dinner & All the Fixin's — $3
N.Y. Off.: 507 5th Ave. ● YU 6-6810

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 766

Across: 1 FUDGE; 4 EAGER; 7 and 16 across PASSING FAIR; 10 NOOSE; 11 GLAND, 12 EXCITES; 13 YIPS; 16, 31 across and 20 FAIR WEATHER FRIEND; 18 GNOME; 21 EAGLET; 22 VANISH; 24 LEGION; 25 HOPIS; 26 and 33 FREE LIVER; 28 GHEE; 34 OWLET; 35 ELEGANT; 36 ORSON; 37 EBONY. Down: 1 and 26 FANCY FREE; 2 DROOP; 3 EPEE; 4 EGGS; 5 GUAVA; 6 RADAR; 8 SECOND; 9 IN TIME; 14 IN FAVOR; 15 SCIENCE; 16 FILMING; 17 INTENSE; 18 GNASH; 19 EAVES; 23 HOMAGE; 24 LITHIA; 26 FOLIO; 27 ELVES; 29 HELLO; 30 ENTRY; 31 WREN; 32 ROTE.

Printed in the U. S. A. by RCR Publication Printers Corp., N. Y. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW YORK TIMES

ARMS RACE HELD UNCHRISTIAN ACT

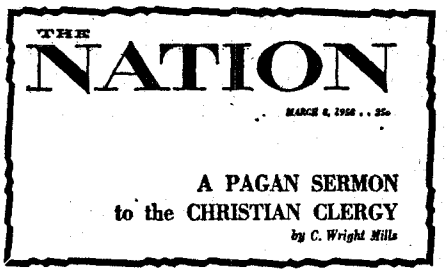
Dr. McCracken, at Riverside, Assails 'Selfish Interest' of Persons and Nations

A Protestant clergyman urged Christians yesterday to "let Palm Sunday be a voice from Christ" protesting the nuclear arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The speaker was the Rev. Dr. Robert J. McCracken, minister of the Riverside Church. He preached on the subject, "The Man Born to Be King," before a capacity congregation of 2,500 persons who joined in prayer to commemorate Christ's entry into Jerusalem.

In his sermon, Dr. McCracken referred to a recent article in The Nation, in which the author warned that the chance of war became greater as the nuclear arms race grew more competitive. The minister said the article described "our situation today." He added: "We've never been in a worse mess."

Have YOU read THE NATION'S article — A Pagan Sermon to the Christian Clergy — which has stirred the clergy and congregations all over over America?



"Magnificent!" . . . *(The Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman of the First Unitarian Church, Los Angeles)*

"Extremely moving and important!" . . . *(The Catholic Worker)*

"In the best religious tradition." . . . *(The Rev. Homer A. Jack, Unitarian Church, Evanston, Ill.)*

REPRINTS NOW AVAILABLE

Order Your Copies on This Coupon

THE NATION, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y.

I enclose $..... for..... reprints of A Pagan Sermon to the Christian Clergy by C. Wright Mills.

☐ 10, $1.50 ☐ 100, $10 ☐ 500, $40 ☐ 1,000, $70 ☐ 5,000, $250

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... Zone ..... State .....

(Payment must accompany order.)

4-12-58

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED